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(Foreword by Shri N. V. Gadgil)

INDIA-PAKISTAN WAR 1965

Vol. I

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by

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Dedicated to all those, high and low, rich and poor, young and old, dead and living, the gallant sons and daughters of India, through whose valour, nobility, resourcefulness and self-sacrifice, a grave peril threatening this country was averted.

"The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

PREFACE

P B Gayendragadkar, ex Chief Justice of India, in one of his speeches observed that vexing problems like those of Pakistan and China, and Nagaland and Mizos, were not merely of concern to politicians. Politics, he said, was too serious a business to be left to politicians alone. He urged scholars and intellectuals to help reach towards a more rapid solution of the problems confronting the country. He called upon them to hold an intellectual dialogue"—a dialogue between scholars and politicians. "We have erred in the years since independence by putting scholars and intellectuals on the shelf, turning the limelight on politicians. We should not underrate either their importance or the contribution which they can make to the nation's life." It is with this view that the present book has been written.

Ever since its formation, Pakistan has been keeping a bitterly hostile attitude towards India. The Pakistani leaders have been consuming every bit of their energy in the most irresponsible manner in carrying on a relentless campaign of deepest hatred against this country. Through press, platform, radio and other agencies, both at home and abroad they have been preaching aggression on their old mother country. They tell their masses day in and day out that if Mahmud of Ghazni could plunder India seventeen times and annex Panjab, if Muhammad Ghori could conquer Delhi in his eighth invasion, if Babar could establish Mughal Empire in this land in his fifth attempt, and if Ahmad Shah Abdali could seize Panjab up to the Yamuna and Panipat by overrunning it eight times, Pakistan could also conquer this country by invading it again and again. To achieve this object, it has coined for its people the following slogan:

Hans ke liya hai Pakistan

Lar kar lenge Hindustan

[Pakistan has been won by giving a smile,
India will be conquered by force of arms]

India would not have cared had Pakistan remained content with propaganda alone. But it attacked India thrice within eighteen years. Pakistan is now itching for a fresh trial of strength. The Institute of Strategic Studies, London, a non official body recognised,

as an authority on military matters, and whose assessments are generally accepted as a very good guide in a field surrounded by secrecy, published its annual review, "The Military Balance, 1967-68" on September 15, 1967. It says that after the India-Pakistan War of 1965, Pakistan Army has been "doubled in strength." The infantry divisions have been increased from eight to thirteen. The previous two armoured divisions have risen to four. Thirty-two brigades of infantry divisions have each reconnaissance regiments equipped with M-24 Chaffes and M-41 Bulldog tanks. The Institute records that Cobra anti-tank missiles have been acquired in plenty. The Air Force has 240 combatant aircraft as well as 25 Mirage Mark III jet interceptors acquired from France. The Air Force has two tactical reconnaissance units instead of previous year's one. Its fighter bomber and fighter squadped with 100 F-86 Sabres now number five. There are in addition four fighter squadrons with MIG-19s. The Institute further says that the percentage of gross national income spent on defence is in China 10, in the United States 9.2, in Russia 8.9, in Pakistan 3.6 and in India 3.3. The per capita expenditure on defence in Pakistan is four dollars and in India two and a half dollars. The Karachi correspondent of the London *Times* reported that immediately after the war, Pakistan scoured the world for spares for aircraft and found most of them "in stocks of surplus equipment dealers in Britain, Belgium, France, Netherlands, West Germany and Italy." "Now two years after the war", says this report, "the Pakistan Air Force has virtually all its original aircraft flying supplemented by Chinese-built MIG-19s, for which spares are readily available." [*The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, September 16, 1967, p. 1, columns 1, 2; p. 7, columns 4 -7 ; and p. 12, column 5.]

With such an enormous military power at his command, with the hymn of hatred against India on his lips, and the fire of conquest ablaze in his heart, President Ayub Khan is determined to launch a fourth attack shortly. On October 5, 1967 in a nation-wide broadcast, he declared that the India-Pakistan fighting in September 1965 constituted the "most glorious chapter" in Pakistan's history. [PTI, New Delhi, October 6, 1967.] He has set up war memorials in all important towns. The Pakistan Writer's Guild has instituted an award called the "Sixth September Prize for Literature." "Victory Day" is celebrated all over the country every year. On October 9, 1967 he began a major border provocation in the Uri Sector of Kashmir. [PTI, UNI, New Delhi,

October 9, 1967.] These incidents followed Chinese provocations on the Sikkim border. India had suffered 251 casualties in all in the shooting conflicts with China at Nathu La in mid-September 1967 and at Cho La 12 miles from Nathu La on October 1, 1967. The Chinese casualties ranged between 300 and 600. [PTI, New Delhi, October 5, 1967.] President Ayub Khan was on a four-day official visit to France in mid-October 1967. In an interview with the Paris newspaper, *Le Figaro*, Ayub was asked whether the situation in China was affecting Sino-Pakistani relations. He replied: "China, which has always supported us, can help us whatever happens, not only diplomatically and militarily, but also in the economic and commercial fields. We have no fear on these subjects." [PTI, New Delhi, October 18, 1967.]

It is obvious that Pakistan is planning an attack on India in collaboration with China with a view to disintegrate this country. Pakistan forgets that India is not living in medieval times, that the age of Ghazni, Ghoris, Babar and Abdali is dead and gone for ever, that the era of appeasement and pacification of the enemy pursued by India after independence is over, and that democratic and secular India will prove stronger than the theocratic and dictatorial Pakistan. One positive proof of this assertion is the fact that in its recorded history extending over 2,500 years, India, for the first time, during 125 invasions from the north-west, faced, fought and vanquished the invader fully armed with the deadliest weapons by the greatest world power and firmly supported by the world's most cunning brains, on the enemy soil in September 1965. The day is not far off when Young India will recover its own 'Azad Kashmir.' Let Pakistan remember that New India and New Delhi also are now awake and are prepared to make every possible sacrifice in preserving independence and integrity of this sacred land.

The book covering a little over 800 pages is divided into three parts, almost of equal size, entitled Military Front, Home Front and Diplomatic Front. It throws light on the causes of India-Pakistan conflict and suggests the proper solution of this problem. The heroic role of the Indian armed forces and the silent service of civilians are described in their true perspective. A detailed review of the actions and reactions of various world powers, big and small, friendly and unfriendly, is given. One great lesson the war has taught is that however big a nation might be, no war can be won unless it has a brave and the best equipped army, a determined and the most sacrificing people, and a vigorous and the most resolute Government.

Acts of omission and commission by Army, people and Government have been pointed out at their proper places. Our leaders and people should take a serious note of them.

The author gathered his material from Press releases, despatches of correspondents, special newspaper articles and editorials, both Indian and foreign, letters to the editors, various publications of the Government of India, numerous journals and magazines and a few books available on the subject. To all these he acknowledges his deepest debt of gratitude. Within time limit the author has tried to sift and appraise the matter collected by him. In spite of this some inadvertent statements, miscalculations and wrong conclusions might have crept into the text for which the writer craves indulgence of his readers. Any suggestion for improvement of the book will be gratefully accepted.

The Government of India is observing the Tashkent Declaration so scrupulously that not to speak of any other assistance, the author was not given access even to photographs, maps and Pakistan's secret documents in its possession which had been widely published in August-September 1965. He had therefore to fall back upon old newspapers and journals for the material. Hence their reproduction could not be up to the mark. The maps had to be redrawn.

Among those who read parts of the manuscript and made valuable suggestions are Dewan Anand Kumar, formerly Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Shri K. D. Bhargava, Director National Archives of India, and Dr. R. K. Parmu, Research Officer, Ministry of Education. I am grateful to them. I am also thankful to my pupils, Dr. B. N. Goswamy of Panjab University, Chandigarh, Dr. K.C. Yadav of Kurukshetra University, Dr. Sangat Singh, Shri B.M. Sankhdher and Shri Ved Prakash Gupta for helping me off and on in the preparation of this work.

Delhi

December 1967

Hari Ram Gupta

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Hajipir
Chheharta

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PART I

MILITARY FRONT

Once you yield a pin's point of ground,
there is no knowing where you will end.

Rabindranath Tagore



For the first time in Indian history, the Government of this country decided to hit the invader from the north-west in retaliation. Indian forces crossed the Ceasefire Line and seized Hajipur Pass, the nerve centre of enemy activities in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, at 10.30 on the morning of August 28, 1965. The picture shows Indian National Flag being hoisted on the heights of the Pass.

GENESIS OF PAKISTAN

COMMUNAL HOMOGENEITY BEFORE THE BRITISH

Prior to the British rule in India an ideal communal harmony prevailed here. The close contact between Hinduism and Islam during the present millennium led to the formation of a composite culture popularly called *Ganga-Jamuni-tahzib*. Its best exponents were savants like Amir Khusro and Abdur Rahim Khan-e-Khanan, saints like Kabir and Nanak, and sovereigns like Akbar and Ranjit Singh. The Hindu and Muslim masses on the whole lived as one people until the close of the nineteenth century. Not to go into hoary past, in the records of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries available in Persian and other languages of northern India, also in the foreign travellers' accounts, seldom do we come across incidents showing communal hatred among the people, especially in Panjab, Jammu and Kashmir, which were the strongholds of Islam. Of course we have to make an exception in the case of an individual ruler or government official or the ferocious invader who, in order to conceal his own rapacity and lust, placed the religious cry before his followers.

SOCIAL SPHERE

The three communities—Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, as a rule, lived peacefully. On social and religious occasions they gathered together, exchanged greetings and presents, and enjoyed festivities in common. In many cases it was difficult to draw any definite line among these creeds. Distinctions were clearly marked at great

religious centres and in the educated and official classes. In the rural population which formed the vast majority in the country, different faiths were so strongly blended and intermingled that one could hardly be distinguished from the other. The Muslim peasantry of the Delhi province was almost Hindu in their appearance and ways of living. The Sikh of Hissar district was often a Sikh in looks and speech only. The Hindu of West Panjab and North-West Frontier Province was almost a Musalman except that he avoided beef, married in his caste, and did not go to a mosque to say prayers.

Even where the population was almost wholly Muslaman as in the West Panjab, the Hindus lived there as good neighbours. Though every Muslim village had its mosque, acknowledged *Shara*, solemnised marriages according to the rites of the holy Koran, yet Brahmans were frequently employed as agents for arranging betrothals. Both communities were closely drawn towards each other. They generally lived in peace except when the feelings of the minority community were injured by publicly killing a cow. They worshipped the common village deities. Women in general played an important part in this respect. A Musalman woman who had not offered to the small-pox goddess would feel that she had deliberately risked her child's life. On special occasions she fed Brahman priests. Similarly a Hindu woman would regularly make offerings and light earthen lamps at the shrines of Muslim saints on every Thursday and at the time of a marriage in the family.¹

The Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were so closely knit together that there appeared to be a perfect harmony in the society. At the time of a crisis or a foreign invasion they stood together and experienced common sufferings. For instance, Nadir Shah stayed in Shah Jahan's Palace in the Red Fort at Delhi and his army was billeted in people's houses, both Hindus and Muslims.² At the higher level the Muslims were the worst sufferers. All the pretty wives and maiden daughters of Khan-e-Dauran, the head of the imperial army, were dragged to bed by Nadir Shah.³ He ransacked the imperial palace, and loaded 300 elephants, 10,000 camels and 10,000 horses with the looted property.⁴ Prime Minister Qamr-uddin Khan was ordered to stand in the sun, and forced to pay one crore of rupees, jewellery, horses and elephants. The *rakil* of the Governor of Bengal was beaten in the *darbar*, and he together with all the members of his family took poison. On March 26, 1739 Nadir married his younger son Nasrullah to Iffat-un-Nisa, daughter

of Dawar Bakhsh whose mother was a daughter of Aurangzeb.⁵ On January 29, 1757, Ahmad Shah Abdali married his son Timur Shah to the daughter of Alamgir II.⁶ About one hundred beautiful wives of Prime Minister Qamr-ud-din's son, Intizam-ud-daulah, himself an ex-prime minister, were carried away.⁷ On April 5, 1757 Ahmad Shah Abdali forcibly married 16-year old maiden daughter of Emperor Muhammad Shah. His troops carried away thousands of handsome boys and pretty girls to their camp. Ghulam Hasan Samin, an eye-witness, says that wealthy Musalmans undid their loin cloth to convince the invader of their being followers of the Prophet, but even then they were fleeced of all their riches.⁸

POLITICAL SPIRIT

As in the social life, a remarkable communal homogeneity prevailed in the political sphere too. Since our account begins with the eighteenth century, we start with the account of Diwan Sukhjiwan Mal who was the viceroy of Kashmir from 1752 to 1762. He ruled so wisely and well that he won praises from all. The contemporary author, Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, supported by the authors of *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin* and *Tarikh-e-Muzaffari*, wrote in 1762: "He was a handsome youth, possessed of good qualities and friendly feelings towards Islam. He repaired all the shrines and gardens. After finishing the court business he fed two hundred Muslims with a variety of food every day. On the 11th and 12th of every month he got sacramental food cooked and distributed it among the people. He bestowed favours on every visitor to the court whether he was poor or rich. Once in every week he held a political conversation. It was attended by all the well-known poets. At the end of it he embraced everyone of them. He engaged five best scholars to compile a history of Kashmir from the earliest times. Each writer was provided with ten assistants. The head of these historians was Muhammad Taufiq whose original name was Lalaju."⁹

Sukhjiwan Mal's contemporary and rival was Ranjit Dev, ruler of Jammu from 1735 to 1781. When almost the whole of Northern India had fallen into utter chaos and confusion, he made Jammu a veritable paradise on earth. George Forster, a secret agent of Warren Hastings, travelled through Northern India in the disguise of a Muslim merchant in 1783. While at Jammu he wrote a long account about Ranjit Dev's administrative ability and impartiality: "Negative virtues only are expected from an Asiatic despot, and under such a sanction his subjects might deem themselves fortunate; but the chief of Jumbo

went farther than the forbearance of injuries ; he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahometans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Moghulpour ; and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony : a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India, and as the Kashmirians who chiefly composed his Mahometan subjects, have been, since their conversion, rigorous persecutors of the Hindoos. He was so desirous of acquiring their confidence and esteem, that when he had been riding through their quarter during the time of prayer, he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations. The Hindoos once complained to this chief, that the public wells of the town were defiled by the vessels (made of leather) of the Mahometans, and desired that they might be restricted to the water of the river ; but he abruptly dismissed the complaint, saying, that water was a pure element, designed for the general use of mankind, and could not be polluted by the touch of any class of people. An administration so munificent and judicious, at the same time, that it enforced the respect of his own subjects, and made Jumbo a place of extensive commercial resort, where all descriptions of men experienced, in their persons and property, a full security."²⁰

The later Mughal Emperors followed liberal policy towards their Hindu subjects. Numerous instances from the reigns of most of these Emperors can be cited. Here it will suffice to quote from a contemporary newspaper. The *Jam-e-Jahan Numa*, a Persian weekly, published from Calcutta, in its issues of 1825 A. D. contains many references about the liberal attitude of Akbar Shah II, the then Mughal Emperor of Delhi. The issue of February 9, 1825, says that the Emperor appointed Raja Sohan Lal chamberlain in place of Hakim Rukn-ud-din who had cheated the royal family. On March 5, the Emperor on the eve of the Hindu festival of Holi distributed dresses of yellow colour among the members of the imperial household. About 200 musicians in yellow costume singing came to the Emperor and received prizes. On March 6 the Emperor weighed himself and received *nazrs* of Holi from Hindu leaders. On April 18 Raja Kidar Nath presented to the Emperor a jar of Ganga water. An entry of June 16 states that Kalka Das, the *vakil* of Mumtaz Mahal Begam, the chief queen, transacted certain business for his mistress. On July 14 a pitcher of the water of the

Ganga sent as usual by Raja Kidar Nath was received. The great Muslim festival of *Id-uz-Zuha* fell on July 27. The Emperor went to Idgah, said prayers and then sacrificed with his own hands a camel, a sheep and a goat. There was no cow slaughter. The news of September 24 stated that Sukhan Lal, son of Rai Sadhu Ram, was serving as *Khan-e-Sanan* to the Emperor. On the Dusahra day the Emperor held a *darbar* in the Dwan-e-Khas, attended by all the nobles and courtiers. In accordance with the usual custom, His Majesty put on leather gloves and held a hawk on his thumb. The son of Mohan, the keeper of hawks, presented several birds. The nobles offered their Dusahra *naazs* and received *khilats*. On the day of Diwali the Emperor weighed himself against seven kinds of grain which was given away in charity. After this the Emperor retired to a bathing room, where according to the old custom, he sat on the back of a tortoise, had bath, put on a new dress and ordered for illumination in the palace and the fort in conformity to previous practice. A statement of December 8 says that the Raja of Ballabgarh was appointed superintendent of police for the suburbs of the imperial capital.

The Sikhs in their struggle for freedom had suffered most terribly from the Mughal Government and the Afghan invaders. They were indiscriminately massacred, and their hearths and homes were mercilessly destroyed. When they established their rule in Panjab, they gave toleration to all. George Forster, the English traveller, wrote in 1783: "The Sicques, however, keenly actuated by resentment, set a bound to the impulse of revenge; and though the Afghan massacre and persecution must have been deeply imprinted on their minds, they did not, it is said, destroy one prisoner in cold blood." Another Englishman who travelled from Saharanpur to Lahore in 1808 recorded in his diary: "I may mention that, during the whole course of my enquiries I heard not one cause of complaint."¹¹ Alexander Burnes wrote in early thirties of the nineteenth century: "Yet the Seiks are a most tolerant nation, and evince a merciful consideration in the differences of religion, that forms a bright contrast to their Mahomedan neighbours."¹²

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was above all communal prejudices. His foreign minister was Aziz-ud-din. Several of his provincial governors and army generals were Muslims. He respected Muslim saints, gave concessions in assessment of land revenue to Sayyids, and made revenue-free grants to *Ulema*. He liberally rewarded those who could recite the Koran from memory.¹³

JUDICIAL SPHERE

Almost every village in Northern India had a *panchayat* to settle

its day-to-day affairs. The members of the *panchayat* were elected from all communities, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh. There was no friction among its members, and none showed any tendency of partiality towards his own community. This state of affairs lasted till the British annexation of these parts, when owing to the policy of alien rulers these tribunals were replaced by British courts. The English system of administering justice, as compared with the Indian system, was considered by people "tedious, vexatious and expensive, and advantageous only to clever rogues".¹⁴ The contemporary records of the British Government state: "Injustice or partiality is not charged to these tribunals, as consequent or general, and it is no weak proof in their favour that we found a perfect equality amongst the people in rank and fortune. Though some among them had more *beeghar* of land and wealth than others within their society, yet the owners thereof had no proportionate power, nor did excess of either produce any."¹⁵ Charles Eliot, Agent to the Governor-General, in his report on Lapsed and Reserved Sikh and Hill States submitted in 1824, about the functioning of *panchayats* in these regions, writes: "I cannot call to recollection a single instance, during ten years' experience in these states, of a Panchait being convicted of bribery and the common phrase 'Punchait men Parmesur' imposes respect upon the arbitrators and stamps their decisions. The members selected are generally the oldest inhabitants of the town or village, of most approved probity and experience, and their award is either verbal, or written as may best please the parties."¹⁶

THE BRITISH POLICY OF DIVIDE ET IMPERA

In the uprising of 1857, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs joined against the British in the army as well as in civil life. The mutineers and rebels declared Bahadur Shah, the Emperor of India. John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Panjab, failed to incite the Hindus and the Sikhs against the Muslim Emperor. "When at length John Lawrence called on Sikh chiefs of Panjab on July 23, to furnish men for the war, the result was that nobody of real Sikhs under their own leaders ever seem to have joined at all."¹⁷ He then tried to win over the Panjabi Muslims by throwing great temptations of money and posts before them. Surprisingly, his efforts immediately bore fruit. General Meleod recorded: "While in contrast to them (Sikhs), the leaders and chiefs of the Mohammadans from Mooltan and frontier tribes under the influence of Edwardes and the frontier officers, raised regiment after regiment of their Mooltani Pathans and other followers (not Sikhs at all)."¹⁸ This is further confirmed by F. P. Gibbon, the author of

The Lawrences of the Punjab at pp. 304-5 : "When the British were weakest, the men that responded to the call of John Lawrence and his Lieutenants were mostly Punjabi Mussulmans, Pathan and Baluchi tribesmen from the Multan district and from the Afghan border."

After the suppression of the Revolt, the British Government realized that the unity of Indian people was most dangerous to their rule, and it must be broken at any cost. In consequence the policy of dividing the people was vigorously pursued. In July 1857 when the Indian revolt was at its height, Disraeli declared in British Parliament : "Our Empire in India was indeed founded upon the old principle of *divide et impera*, but the principle was put into action by us not with any Machiavellian devices, but by merely taking advantage of the natural and spontaneous circumstances of the country in which we were acting a part".¹⁹

The new policy began with the army. It was later introduced first into aristocracy, and then extended to masses. Formerly the regiments consisted of soldiers of all religions, classes, castes, communities and provinces. New regiments were formed on the basis of religion and class. Thus the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were separated. Hindus were further divided into classes such as Dogras, Gorkhas, Rajputs, Jats and Marathas. The element of regionalism was also applied. Instead of recruiting soldiers from one great centre of population as it was the practice before the Mutiny, separate regiments on provincial basis were formed. The process of separation was extended to civilians. In the census of 1835, Hindus included Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains. In the census of 1868, Sikhs were shown separately.

By 1870 the Government came to the conclusion that it would be most difficult to satisfy the Hindus, the majority community. Their interest lay in patronising the Muslims who "wanted jobs and privileges on the basis of their loyalty to the Empire".²⁰ In 1871 W.W. Hunter in his famous book, *The Indian Mussalmans*, advocated the policy of getting "the Muhammadan youth educated on our plan".²¹ In this scheme the British Government was supported by Syed Ahmed Khan who had compared Indians to Englishmen "as a dirty animal is to an able and upright man. The English have every reason to believe us in India to be imbecile brutes."²² He also described "the British rule in India as the most wonderful phenomenon the world has ever seen".²³ The Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh was planned in 1875. The land was acquired by Sir John Strachey. The first donation of Rs. 10,000

for the buildings came from Viceroy Northbrook. The foundation stone was laid by the next Viceroy Lytton in 1877.²¹ Thus the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental College, the precursor of Aligarh Muslim University, came into being. Once addressing the Muslims on the blessings of British rule, Sir Syed said: "God has made them your rulers. This is the will of God. We should be content with the will of God. You should remain friendly and faithful to them."²²

In a resolution of July 15, 1885, the Government of India directed local officials to give special consideration to Muslims while making appointments in various departments.²⁴ In 1900 Anthony Macdonell, the Lieutenant Governor of U. P., introduced the use of Devnagari script in courts and other Government offices side by side with Urdu. This order effectively divided the two communities. Strong agitation arose at centres of Islamic culture. The representative Muslims from various provinces met together in a conference, and founded "All India Muslim Organisation" to watch the political interests of the community.²⁷

In its wake came the partition of Bengal in 1905. "Curzon's object in dividing a province with a population of seventy millions was not only administrative but political."²⁸ Viceroy Curzon proclaimed the new province of Eastern Bengal as a Muslim province. Nawab Saleemullah Khan of Dacca was won over to the partition of Bengal by advancing to him a loan (in reality a gift) of £ 100,000 at a low rate of interest.²⁹ A circular printed at the Government Headquarters Press at Shillong, bearing no signature and freely distributed among the Muslim population of East Bengal stated: "The new province has been created only in the interests of the Mahomedans. The agitation against the partition made by the Hindus is most selfish. The Mahomedans in every village and town in the new province ought, therefore, to unite and pass unanimous resolutions in support of the partition and in condemnation of the Swadeshi propaganda."³⁰

Archbold, Principal of Aligarh College, hit upon another plan to separate the Muslims from the Hindus. He gave an idea to the Muslims to demand a special status for themselves. Archbold also seems to have drafted the representation to the Governor-General. In his letter dated August 10, 1906, Archbold wrote to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Secretary Aligarh University: "I can prepare for you the draft of the address or revise it. If it is prepared in Bombay, I can go through it as you are aware I know how to frame these things in proper language."³¹

A deputation of seventy members of Muslim aristocracy waited upon Viceroy Minto at Simla on October 1, 1906 and asked for

communal representation. Mohamed Ali, in his presidential address at the thirty-eighth session of the Indian National Congress in 1923, termed the deputation as a "command performance."²⁸ Immediately after Minto's address to the Muslim Deputation, an official wrote to the Viceroy: "I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened today. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people (Muslims) from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition"²⁹ (Indian National Congress). Minto also recorded: "This has been a very eventful day; as some one said to me, 'an epoch in Indian history,'"³⁰ Even unofficial Englishmen in India openly said: "If Hindus and Muslims united, where should we be?"³¹

The All India Muslim League was founded on December 30, 1906 at Dacca. The first and foremost aim of the League was "to promote, among the Mussalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government" and "deliverance from the Hindus." Under British patronage all the Nawabs and Muslim landlords began to take interest in the expansion of the League. It was not a movement against foreign domination. No member of the League was ever punished by the British. Morley, the Secretary of State for India, held the view that it was Minto's support to the claims of Muslim leaders for separate representation that the latter conceived the idea of and formed the first communal political organisation of the Muslims.³²

The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 introduced in India the system of separate electorates giving special representation to Muslims. "To become a voter, the Muslim had to pay Income-tax on Rs. 3,000 a year, while the non-Muslim had to pay on three lakhs a year. It was enough for the Muslim graduate to have standing of three years to become a voter, while the non-Muslim was required to have thirty years standing."³³

Indians were thus politically divided into communal compartments to check the growing national unity. By the Government of India Act, 1919, Indian electorate was broken up into ten parts. The British Government's attempt in 1932 to create the scheduled castes into a separate people like the Muslims was foiled by Mahatma Gandhi. The Act of 1935 split the electorate into seventeen unequal bits.

CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM POETS SUPPORT INDIAN NATIONALISM

While the British were gradually creating a rift between the Hindus and Muslims, the Muslim poets tried to infuse nationalistic spirit

among the masses through their verses.

Mir Taqi Mir (1725—1810) wrote :

मीर के दीन व मज़हब को अब पूछते क्या हो, उदमे तो
बराका खोंवा, दीर में बैठा, कब का तर्क इस्ताम किया ।

[Why do you enquire about Mir's religion ? He (Mir) has put a mark on his forehead and sits in the temple as he gave up Islam long ago.]

Mohsin Kakauri sang songs of Kashi, Mathura and Ganga :

लिमउ-ए काशी से चला जानिब-ए मथुरा बादल
बर्फ के कान्चे पे लाठी है सदा मगा जल ।

[The cloud is advancing from the side of Kashi towards Mathura ; the breeze is bringing water of the Ganga on the shoulders of lightning.]

At the end of the Indian uprising of 1857, Urdu poets were punished for composing lyrics demanding Hindu-Muslim unity. Imam Bakhsh Sahbai was executed and Munir Shikohabadi was transported to Andamans for life.

Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914) in his poem '*Hubb-e-Watan*' said :

ए बदन ए मेरे बहिस्त-ए बरों, क्या हुए तेरे आसमा व जनों ।
तेरी एक मुसल-ए खाक क बदले, नू न हारंगर अपर बहिस्त मिले ॥
बैठे देखिक क्या हो हम बतना ! उठी, धूल-ए बदन के दोस्त बनो ।
सब को मीठी निगाह स दखा, समझो आँखों की पुतलियाँ सब को ॥
मुल्क इत्तफाक से है आबाद, शहर है इत्तफाक से आबाद ।
झोंम जब इत्तफाक खा बैठा, अपना पूँजी स हाथ धो बैठी ॥

[O my country, O my highest heaven !
What has happened to your soil and sky ?

In exchange for a handful of your dust,
I shall not accept heaven if it is offered.

O my countrymen ! why carefree are you sitting ?
Rise, and make friends with your fellow countrymen.

Look on them with a sweet glance ;
Consider all of them as your own eye-balls.

It is unity which makes countries free ;
Union is the basis of the population of cities.

When a people lose their unity,
They deprive themselves of all their belongings.]

Shibli (1857-1914) in a sharp and touching poem struck at

those who were supporting the British rule against Indian National Congress :

अब साफ हो गया हक व बातल का इम्तियाज ।

अब फसल-ए नौ बहार अलग है खिजा अलग ॥

वह इस्तमात-ए ददं व मये साफ अब नहीं ।

गुम गदतगान-ए राह से है कारवाँ अलग ॥

जो लोग है मता-ए खुशामद के मायादार ।

खोलेंगे अब वह मुल्क में अपनी दुकाँ अलग ॥

[The difference between truth and falsehood is clear now ;
Now the crop of the new spring is separate
from that of the autumn.

The clear wine does not now mix with pain ;
The caravan is proceeding separately from those

who have lost their way.
Those people who want to collect wealth through flattery,
Will now open a separate shop of their own in the country.]

Akbar Allahabadi (1846-1921), though himself a Sessions Judge in the British Government service, lost no occasion in striking at the British rule :

बहुत ही उम्दा है ए हमनसी ब्रिटिश राज ।

कि हर तरह के फवायत भी हैं अमूल भी है ॥

जगह भी मिलती है कौंसिल में आनरेबल की ।

जो इस्तमात हो उम्दा तो वह बखूल भी है ॥

रागुफता पार्क है हर छिमत रहस्यों के लिए ।

नजर नवाज है पस्ती, हसी फून भी है ॥

अब इतनी नैमतें भौबूद हैं यही अकबर ।

तो दर्ज क्या है जो साथ इसके डैम फूल भी है ॥

[O my companion ! British rule is excellent :
There are all sorts of rules, regulations and principles as well,

In councils one gets the title of honourable,
And deserving petitions are also sanctioned.

There are green parks on all sides for the wayfarers ;
They have lovely flowers pleasing the eyes.

Akbar ! in presence of such good things ;
Nobody should mind if he is also called "damn fool".

तासीम जो दी जाती है हयें वह क्या है फलन बाजारी है ।
जो अकल सिखाई जाती है वह क्या है फलन सरकारी है ॥

[The education which is imparted to us is fit only for the
market places,

The wisdom taught to us is helpful only to the cause of the
Government.]

At this stage Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938) appeared on the scene as a great nationalist poet. He sang such beautiful songs of Hindu-Muslim unity as struck roots in the whole country. His Tarana-e-Hindi, Naya Shivala and Bachchon Ka Qaumi Git became most popular throughout the length and breadth of this country. In Tarana-e-Hindi, Iqbal said :

मजहब नहीं दिखाता आपस में बैर रखना ।

हिन्दी है हम वतन है हिन्दुस्तान हमारा ॥

[Religion does not teach mutual enmity ;

We are Hindi and Hindustan is our native land]

In 'Naya Shivala', Iqbal gave the following message :

आ गैरियत के वरें एक बार फिर उठा दें ।

बिछड़ों को फिर मिला दें नश्व-ए दुर्द मिटा दें ॥

मूनी पड़ी हुई है मुह्त से दिल को बस्ती ।

आ, एक नया शिवाला इस देश में बना दें ॥

हुनिया के तीर्थों से ऊँचा हो अपना तीर्थ ।

दामाँ-ए आसमाँ से उसका कलस मिला दें ॥

[Come, let us raise the curtains of disagreement ;

Let us unite the separated ones, and wipe out the roots of dispute !

The city of heart has been lying deserted for long ;

Come, let us build a new temple in this country.

Our place of pilgrimage should be the highest

of all in the world ;

Let us raise its summit to the skies]

Hasrat Mohani (1875-1951) decried the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 in these words :

जिम दर्जे फरेव से है ममलू, तबखीर रिफामं माटेगु ।

नागज के समझिये फूल इनको, जिनके नहीं नाम को भी खुशबू ॥

[Montague's reform scheme is extremely deceptive. Consider it as flowers of paper, which have absolutely no smell in them.]

Zafar Ali Khan presented a picture of Malcolm Hailey's governorship in Panjab on the eve of the passing of Government of India Act, 1935, thus :

जनावे हजरत-ए हेली को यह गम साये जाता है
 न कर दे सरनगूं मसूरिक कहीं मगरिव के परचम को ।
 छिड़ी आजादी-ए हिन्दुस्तान की वहस कौंसिल में
 तो जाहिर यों किया हजरत ने अपने इस छुपे गम को ।
 हमारी भी वही मायत है जो मकसद तुम्हारा है
 घुदा वह दिन करे गरदूं के तारे बनके तुम चमकौ ।
 हकूमत आज तुमको सौंपकर हो जायें हम रूसगत
 मगर अन्देशा इसमें है फकत इस बात का हम को ।
 हमारे बाद कौन इस हाथ की सोखी को रोदेगा
 जो बेकल है कि लाकर डाल दे गंगा में जमजम को ।
 मुस्लिमी हिन्दुओं को एक हमले में मिटा देने
 उद्दा ले जायेगा यह आफताब आते ही शबनम को ।
 किसी ने कदा यह तकरीर सुनकर कह दिया होता
 कि दे सकते नहीं हो तुम अब इन फिरकों से दम हमको ।
 मुस्लिमी मोले आले और हिन्दू सीधे सादे हैं
 नहीं अहमक मगर ऐसे कि समझें अंगवों समको ।
 निपटते आये हैं आपस में और अब भी निपट लेंगे
 अगर तुम बनके सातिस बीच में उनके न आ घमको ।

[Sir Malcolm Hailey feels very much worried,
 Lest the East might pull down the banner of the West.
 When the question of India's independence was discussed in
 the Council,

Hailey gave expression to his inward grief thus :
 We have the same object in view as you have ;
 May God enable you to shine like stars in the firmament !
 We are prepared to hand over the Government to you today
 And depart ; but we have only one anxiety.
 After us who will stop the severity of that hand ?
 Which wants to drop sacred water of Arabia into the Ganga.
 In one stroke the Muslims will wipe out the Hindus,
 As the rising sun dries up the dew.
 Would somebody have replied to this speech,
 You no longer can deceive us by such sentences.
 Though Muslims may be plain and simple and Hindus may be
 artless and humble ;
 Yet they are not fools to take poison for honey.
 We have been settling our disputes and will settle them ;

If you do not descend between us to play the role of an arbiter.]”

BIRTH OF PAKISTAN

Gandhiji tried to drive the British out of India during World War Two. In 1942 he started the Quit India movement. The Government crushed it with a heavy hand. To retaliate upon the Congress, the Britishers instigated the Muslim League and its leader M.A. Jinnah to oppose the demand for independence unless the Congress agreed to the creation of Pakistan. In response, M.A. Jinnah declared: “Two nations. Confronting each other. In every province. Every town. Every village. That is the only solution.”⁴⁷

Abdur Rab Nishtar asserted: “Pakistan can only be achieved by shedding blood, and if the opportunity arises, the blood of non-Muslims must be shed, for Muslims are no believers in *ahimsa* (non-violence).”⁴⁸

The Secretary of the Muslim League of Calcutta issued a prayer: “By the grace of God we, ten crores in India, through bad luck, have become slaves of the Hindus and the British. We are starting a *Jihad* in your name in this very month of Ramzan. We promise before You that we entirely depend on You. Make us victorious over the *kafirs*, enable us to establish the kingdom of Islam in India.... May we build up in India the greatest Islamic kingdom in the world!”⁴⁹ He continued: “Oh *kafir*! your doom is not far and the general massacre will come. We shall show our glory with swords in hands and will have a special victory.”⁵⁰

Amir-ud-din sent to M.A. Jinnah the following message: “So far we have given sufficient time to Indian infidels. It is time to remove the darkness of infidelity and illuminate the whole universe by resplendent Islam. To accomplish this sublime cause, we must slaughter the infidels as was done in the early days.”⁵¹ In consequence in Calcutta alone 7,000 Hindus were killed and property worth millions was looted and destroyed.

In the general election of 1945, only 25 per cent of the adult population was entitled to vote under the terms of the Government of India Act of 1935. Even under this restricted franchise barely two-thirds of the votes were cast in favour of Pakistan. This was enough to avert Partition, but the British Government had decided to divide India if she did not wish to remain slave. Basing their decision on 17 per cent of the total Muslim adult population of India including East Bengal they sanctioned the division of India. Consequently on August 15, 1947 Pakistan was created.

The birth of Pakistan took place in a blood bath. Millions of Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in West Pakistan were cut to pieces. When railway trains full of the dead and covered with blood reached Amritsar, the Sikhs and Hindus got infuriated. They retaliated on the Muslims of East Panjab. India paid the price of independence not only in blood but also in mutilation.

CAUSES OF INDIA-PAKISTAN CONFLICT

(1)

Pakistan's Obsession for parity with India

Pakistan is not contented with having only about 24 per cent of the area of India. The Muslim League had demanded the whole of Bengal, entire Panjab and a spacious corridor from West Pakistan to East Pakistan right across Uttar Pradesh, heart of Islamic culture in India, and Bihar. This did not happen. Bengal and Panjab were partitioned. No corridor was given. Thus while dividing India, Pakistan itself was divided into two halves by India. This fact has frustrated Pakistan. It wishes to annul the partition of 1947 by cutting down the size and status of India and thereby achieve parity with her. To begin with, it started its campaign with the princely States.

There were 565 States in India. They were given the choice to join India or Pakistan or remain independent. The scheme of partition provided that those States geographically falling within the Indian territory should join the Indian Union and those situated within the Pakistan territory should join Pakistan, so that no pocket of one would remain in the other. Yet, M. A. Jinnah made fruitless and undesirable efforts to win over many States falling within the orbit of the Indian Dominion. The object was to balkanise India. India did nothing of the kind with respect to any State within the limits of Pakistan. Jinnah assured the Indian States of his

full support in case anyone of them either wished to join Pakistan or remain independent, irrespective of its location or the composition of its population.

On June 19, 1947, *Dawn* of Karachi wrote in its editorial comment: "As far as Pakistan is concerned, the Qaid-e-Azam's statement gives ample guarantee to the States that their independence and integrity will be respected. The contrast between the attitude of the Muslim League and the Congress in this matter is so striking and the promise of non-intervention so reassuring that we would not be surprised if a number of even non-Muslim States decide eventually either to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or enter into closer treaty relations with Pakistan than with Hindustan. As autonomous members of the Union of Pakistan or as allies of Pakistan, the Indian States whether Muslim or Hindu will have a more honourable position than otherwise. As for the Congress threat we have no doubt that Hyderabad and Travancore will firmly stand up to it and refuse to be bullied and their example should hearten others who have not yet made up their minds."

Jinnah offered a blank cheque to the ruler of Jodhpur to dissuade him from joining India. The open support and encouragement given to Hyderabad to remain independent and develop collaboration with Pakistan is also well-known. Efforts were made to bring Bhopal under the influence of Pakistan. The Nawab of Junagarh was won over to the side of Pakistan. Towards the end of June 1947, Jinnah carried on negotiations with C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the then Diwan of Travancore State. It was announced that the two States of Pakistan and Travancore would exchange ambassadors. Travancore declined to join the Indian Constituent Assembly and established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republic. After the announcement of exchange of representatives between Pakistan and Travancore, the Muslim League daily, *Dawn* of Karachi, wrote an editorial under the title "Happy Augury" on June 23, 1947: "It is the decision of a Hindu State...to be the first to establish friendly relationship with the Dominion of Pakistan. Similarly, there is a more earnest desire to befriend in the decision of the Qaid-e-Azam to receive a Travancore envoy than would ordinarily be indicated by the mere acceptance by one State of another's representative... It may be hoped that when the picture of a sovereign Pakistan and an independent Travancore emerges more fully and completely as a result of the completion of the constitutional process that has been set in motion for the implementation of H.M.G.'s June 3 Plan, the present

relationship established between the two would find consummation in the establishment of closer diplomatic and commercial bonds to the advantage of both."

Thus Pakistan made every possible endeavour to limit the size and status of India and bring it to a level of parity with Pakistan, through the balkanisation of the Indian States. Besides that, it is all out to achieve parity with regard to military strength and industrial resources.¹ Pakistan has been bending all its energy and resources to cut down the size and status of India since 1947. It has chosen to befriend any force in the world which has regarded India as its enemy. Afro-Asian countries including India boycotted South Africa, but Pakistan remained friendly to it, and maintained trade relations with it. In the Suez Canal dispute, Pakistan did not support Egypt, because India had strongly backed the Egyptian cause. As India was opposed to colonialism, Pakistan gave every help to Portugal to retain its hold on Goa, Daman and Diu. When Goa was liberated, President Ayub accused India of adopting imperialist policy. In 1949 India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was invited to visit the United States. Pakistan immediately entered into friendly relations with Soviet Russia, and its Prime Minister secured an invitation to visit Moscow. The visit did not take place. It was just to damp Nehru's reception. Next year Pakistan's Prime Minister visited the United States. There he offered full support to the Western bloc against Russia and Communism. Pakistan vehemently supported John Foster Dulles' campaign against India's policy of non-alignment. Pakistan entered into military alliances with Western Powers in SEATO, CENTO, etc. just to attain parity with India in military strength. India supported Communist China's representation in the United Nations, but Pakistan opposed it. When China attacked India in 1962 and showed complete hostility towards this country, Pakistan became China's best ally.

DISPARITY BETWEEN THE TWO WINGS

While the Government of Pakistan demands parity with India, it is not prepared to establish parity between its two wings. The two wings of Pakistan separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory have little in common in terms of race, culture and language. Neither religion nor the hate campaign against India helped to give the people of East Pakistan a sense of common identity and purpose. In elections held in 1954 the ruling Muslim League secured only 10 out of 309 seats

Mahbubul Haq, a prominent member of the Pakistan National Assembly, on June 18, 1962, in the National Assembly disclosed "that among the 19 secretaries in the Central Government none was from East Pakistan. Of 126 deputy secretaries only 24 were from the East, and of the 763 section officers there were only 8 East Pakistanis. He said that the percentage of East Pakistanis in the non-gazetted posts was still worse."²

H. S. Suhrawardy, once Pakistan's prime minister, stated in November 1957: "For us, East Pakistanis, neither the Kashmir problem is important nor the canal water dispute. We do not have even our fundamental rights. First, we demand the right of provincial autonomy, before Kashmir and the canal water."³

Qamr-ul-Ahsan, member of National Assembly, said :

"If we could imagine in 1939 or 1940 the conditions obtaining in Pakistan now, we would never have voted for the creation of Pakistan"⁴

Undoubtedly, the Government of Pakistan made a distinction between its two halves. In the first Plan two-thirds of Government revenues went to West Pakistan. Out of 520 million dollar foreign aid only 128 millions were allocated to East Pakistan. East Pakistan's representation in the country's armed forces is barely two percent. According to *Pakistan Observer*, the development plan expenditure for East Pakistan for the year 1965-66 was cut down from the original allocation of 205 crore rupees to 148 crores. The sectors affected were education, health, social welfare, building and housing.

No wonder then that the Leftists in Dacca organised a small "no war" demonstration in September 1965. A bigger demonstration was not planned to avoid harassment of rank and file. About 250 intellectuals participated in it. Nearly a dozen college professors were placed under house arrest.

(2)

Pakistan's Attempt to Grab Kashmir

(Kashmir is the only Muslim-majority State in India, though the Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir constitute less than 5 per cent of the entire Muslim population in India. The State is situated on the borders of four countries—China, Russia, Afghanistan and Pakistan. It has common borders with Tibet and Sinkiang, and is separated from Russia by a few miles. This gives Kashmir a

strategic importance in which three great world powers—the United States, Russia and China, are vitally interested.

The total area of Jammu and Kashmir is 84,471 square miles.³ Jammu province covers 12,378 square miles. Kashmir province consists of 8,539 square miles. The other regions are Gilgit, Baltistan and Ladakh. The valley of Kashmir is 85 miles long and 25 miles wide.⁴

According to the census of 1961, the total population of Jammu and Kashmir was 35,60,976. The population of Kashmir was 19,88,089 and of Jammu province 15,72,887.

KASHMIR'S ACCESSION TO INDIA

With the transfer of power to the two dominions of India and Pakistan by the British on August 15, 1947, treaties with all the 565 princely states were abrogated. Each was free either to join India or Pakistan or to remain independent, or to enter in particular political arrangements with one or both the dominions. It is significant to note that there was no provision for consulting the people of the princely States with regard to their accession to India or Pakistan. It was exclusively the ruler's business to decide as to where his state should go. The sovereignty of the State of Jammu and Kashmir reverted to its ruler, Maharaja Sir Hari Singh.

Britain was definitely of the opinion that the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir should either accede to Pakistan or should remain independent of both India and Pakistan. In either case it could easily be converted into a British stronghold in the heart of Asia. This would enable them to retain their lost power in the sub-continent. It seems the Maharaja was also inclined to keep the State independent. He was not favourably inclined towards India. The reason was that a people's movement had become very strong in the Valley. It was supported by the Indian National Congress. The Maharaja had even imprisoned Jawaharlal Nehru on his way to Srinagar a few months before he became the Prime Minister of United India in the interim government. The Muslim League leaders to whom Pakistan was given by the British as a gift for their loyalty had condemned the State people's movement.

India did not try for Kashmir's accession, but informed the Maharaja that he could join Pakistan without incurring its displeasure.⁵ Pending a decision on accession, he asked for a stand-still agreement with both India and Pakistan in regard to communications

supplies, and post and telegraph arrangements. Pakistan immediately concluded the stand-still agreement, while India asked for certain clarifications

M. A. Jinnah, the first head of Pakistan, was of the view that Kashmir, being a Muslim-majority State, must accede to Pakistan. He was in a hurry to achieve this object. He exerted all sorts of pressures on the Maharaja, but failed to win him over. Then he opened negotiations with Sheikh Abdullah, the leader of the State people's movement, whom Jinnah and his colleagues had earlier condemned. The Sheikh bluntly rejected the offer.

In his impatience Jinnah cut off communications and stopped the supplies of essential commodities. The Maharaja did not yield even then. Thereupon Jinnah asked his British commander-in-chief to invade Kashmir, and showed eagerness to celebrate the Id at Srinagar on October 4, 1947. He refused to do so.

The British Government used to spend crores of rupees out of Indian revenues to keep the frontier tribals satisfied. The newly-created State of Pakistan could not afford it. Besides it would have been a reflection upon her not to have been able to command allegiance of their co-religionists. The rulers of Pakistan also wanted to curb the Pakhtoonistan movement in a peaceful way if possible.

Kashmir seemed to them to offer solution of all these problems. The Pathans' lust for money would be quenched for a time by luring them to the beautiful Valley. Their religious fanaticism would bring destruction to the Hindu Government and Hindu population of the State. The clamour for Pathan autonomy would subside for the time being. Above all a new province would be added to Pakistan.

Jinnah therefore ordered frontier tribals to invade Kashmir. Raids and infiltrations had been already going on for about a month. These were now organised into regular warfare.

Three hundred lorries full of Pathans under charge of the late Pir of Manki Sharif were brought to Muzaffarabad on October 20, 1947.^a These raiders were armed with modern weapons such as brenguns, stenguns, heavy mortars, hand-grenades, anti-tank rifles and mines. They were under command of Major-General Akbar Khan, who had assumed the name of General Tariq, the hero of Gibraltar of the eighth century

Muzaffarabad was laid waste. The marauders then advanced along the road to Srinagar, pillaging and killing as they went. Kashmir Brigadier Rajindar Singh at the head of a small contingent

opposed them at Domel, 112 miles from Srinagar. Domel fell and the Brigadier took up position at Garhi, 16 miles farther up. Being overwhelmed he fell back and barred their path at the head of 150 men only at Uri, 65 miles from Srinagar. By demolishing a bridge he held the enemy at bay for three days and died a heroic death. The Pakistani sappers and engineers quickly built the bridge and destroyed the power house at Mahora, thereby plunging Srinagar in darkness.

The dash to Baramula was smooth and unopposed. The second main town of the Valley was captured on October 26, 1947. About 3,000 persons including a few Europeans were killed. The town was set ablaze. Torture, rape and rapine knew no bounds. They "abducted thousands of girls, Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims alike." St. Joseph's Convent was razed to the ground. The Assistant Mother Superior, three nuns and a British army officer, Colonel Dyke's pregnant wife were all raped by the gang and died. The other 60 inmates of the Convent including Rev. Father G. Shanks were stripped naked and shut up in a room where they remained without food and water for several days. Later they were taken to Pakistan. The two little children of the Dykes were also saved.

An Associated Press photographer, an American, flew over a section of Kashmir a few days later. He saw more than 20 villages in smoke in an area 10 miles long and 10 miles wide.

A report in the *New York Times* by Robert Trumbull dated 10 November 1947, said: "Baramula, India, 10 November: The city had been stripped of its wealth and young women, before the tribesmen fled in terror at midnight, Friday, before the advancing Indian Army. Surviving residents estimate that 3,000 of their fellow-towns-men, including four Europeans and a retired British Army Officer, known only as Colonel Dykes, and his pregnant wife, were slain."

He further stated:

"In Baramula the towns, people told me of a young Muslim shopkeeper who sacrificed his life rather than recant his creed of religious tolerance. His martyrdom had taken place almost under the shadow of the Convent walls, and in the memory of the devoted Kashmiris he was fast assuming the stature of a saint."

The Maharaja knew that his own meagre resources were of no avail. He realized that it was no longer a question of accession to

Pakistan. It was pure and simple conquest of the State by force. In that event there was no room for him. He would either be killed or imprisoned for life. In this emergency he forgot all his plans for independence and wrote to Mountbatten, the Governor General of India: "I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally it cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to the Dominion of India. I have accordingly decided to do so and I attach the Instrument of Accession for acceptance by your Government."

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was not willing to agree to the accession unless the leaders of the people's movement in Kashmir wanted it. The Maharaja immediately released the leaders who were flown to New Delhi. The Prime Minister was unwilling to accept responsibility at such a delicate stage. Sheikh Abdullah sitting by his side said in excitement: "Look here, Panditji, you taught us the first lesson of nationalism and of freedom. We fought against our Maharaja, and now both the Maharaja and we are being invaded by worst kinds of people. Are you going to let us down? Is that your idea of neighbourliness?"¹⁰ The Instrument of Accession already executed by the Maharaja was accepted on October 26, 1947. On being insisted by the Prime Minister, Governor General Mountbatten in a separate letter to the Maharaja on October 27, 1947 wrote: "It is my Government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people."¹¹ The accession legally and technically as executed by the Maharaja was complete and final. It was a great disappointment to Britain.

FIGHTING BETWEEN THE TWO ARMIES

There were not enough planes to take our troops and equipment into Kashmir. Our commercial planes and their gallant pilots carried our soldiers and arms at great peril. Pakistan immediately ordered its armies to pour into Kashmir.¹² They joined the raiders at Baramulla and dashed on Srinagar. Indian troops had to fight against the most determined enemy for a little over 14 months. Certain Englishmen serving in Pakistan army and an American Brigadier General fought in Kashmir. Our men and officers had to operate in a very difficult terrain covered with deceptive hills and jungles. Not to speak of any regular roads, there were no footpaths. Fighting was tough and hard in mountains, in bitter cold and heavy snow.

A new record was created in the history of armoured warfare when our tanks were driven through Zoji La over an altitude of 11,000 ft. The Indian forces operated in the Urmasi La, 17,000 feet high. Men from all religions, castes, classes and provinces fought in Kashmir. There were Madrasis, Mahais, Rajputs, Jats, Ahirs, Kumaonis, Garhwalis, Dogras, etc. One of our most successful officers was a Muslim, Brigadier Mohammed Usman, who was killed in the battle of Naushahra. Major S. N. Sharma fought most heroically and fell in the end at Badgam village nine miles from Srinagar. He was posthumously awarded Free India's first highest military award—the Param Vir Chakra. The official citation stated : "Major Sharma's leadership, gallantry and tenacious defence were such that his men, though outnumbered by 7 to 1 were inspired to fight the enemy for six hours and avert imminent danger to Srinagar and the aerodrome on the morning of November 3, 1947."

Naik Jadunath Singh was the other to receive this highest honour—the Param Vir Chakra, in February 1948 in the battle of Naushahra. He fought against heavy odds and received eight wounds during the action, as a result of which he died on the spot.

Havildar Major Piru Singh of village Beri in Jhunjhunu district of Rajasthan was also awarded Param Vir Chakra. He displayed rare gallantry in leading his section to capture a hill feature in the epic battle of Tithwal in May 1948. The citation honouring him said : "Seeing more than half of the section wounded or killed, he did not lose courage. With battle cries he encouraged the remaining men and rushed forward with great determination on to the nearest enemy MMG position. Grenade splinters ripping his clothes and wounding him at several places, he continued to advance without the least regard for his safety. He was on top of the MMG position wounding the gun crew with stengun fire. With complete disregard for his bleeding wounds he made a mad jump on the MMG crew bayonetting them to death and thus silencing the gun.

"By then he realized that he was the sole survivor of the section. The rest of them were either dead or wounded. Another grenade thrown at him wounded him also. With blood dripping from his face into his eyes, he crawled out of the trench hurling grenades at the next enemy position.

"With a loud battle-cry he jumped on the occupants of the next trench, bayonetting two to death. This action was witnessed by the 'C' Coy. Commander who was directing fire in support of the attacking company.

"As Havildar Major Piru Singh emerged out of the second trench to charge on the third enemy bunker, he was hit in the head by a bullet and was seen dropping on the edge of the enemy trench. There was an explosion in the trench which showed that his grenade had done its work. By then CHM Piru Singh's wound had proved fatal.

"He paid with his life for his singularly brave act, but he left for the rest of his comrades a unique example of single-handed bravery and determined cold courage."

"The country is grateful", wrote Jawaharlal Nehru to Mrs. Tarawati, 75-year-old mother of Piru Singh, "for this sacrifice made in the service of the Motherland, and it is our prayer that this may give you some peace and solace."

There were many such officers and soldiers whose heroism and bravery deserved the greatest glory. According to our retired Commander-in-Chief General J.N. Chaudhuri "for every award given ten more might have been almost as deserving."

COMPLAINT LODGED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

On December 22, 1947 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to the Prime Minister of Pakistan not to aid or assist the invaders.

The Pakistan Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, replied: "As regards the charges of aid and assistance to the invaders by the Pakistan Government, we emphatically repudiate them." As the repudiation¹² was contrary to facts, the Government of India, on the British Premier's advice, lodged a complaint with the United Nations Security Council on December 30, 1947 against Pakistani aggression.¹³

The Security Council appointed a Commission, which visited Karachi in July 1948. Pakistan then admitted that only three regular Pakistani brigades were fighting in Kashmir alongside the frontier tribals. The Commission recorded that the presence of Pakistani troops in Jammu and Kashmir was illegal.

In its resolution of April 21, 1948, for the "restoration of peace and order", the Security Council urged Pakistan to use its endeavours "to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting, and to prevent any intrusion into the State of such elements and any furnishing of material aid to those fighting in the State." India was requested by the Security Council to "put into operation in consultation with the Commission a plan for withdrawing her own forces from Jammu and Kashmir and reducing them progressively to the minimum strength

required for the support of the civil power in the maintenance of law and order."

Referring to a plebiscite in Kashmir, the Security Council suggested that "the Government of India should undertake that there will be established in Jammu and Kashmir a Plebiscite Administration to hold a plebiscite as soon as possible on the question of the accession of the State to India or Pakistan."

Thus the Security Council resolution recognised that Jammu and Kashmir was legally a part of India, and that Indian troops were in the State by right. But this could hardly bring any improvement in the situation. The Commission proposed a ceasefire and truce on August 13, 1948. This proposal was made at a time when the invaders were on the run and the Indian army was advancing like a knife through butter cake. The State was about to be cleared of them. This was rather shocking to British imperialists. They put pressure upon peace-loving and peace-seeking Jawaharlal through Mountbatten to call a halt. India threw away the advantage won after hard battles and considerable loss of Indian blood. This made possible for Pakistan to retain nearly one-half of the State of Jammu and Kashmir or three-fourths of Kashmir which it could not otherwise have done. This was another gift of British diplomacy to its protegee.

On December 23, 1948, the Government of India and on December 25, the Government of Pakistan agreed to call a halt to war and declared their faith in the principles for the solution of the problem issued by the Commission as a supplementary to the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948. One minute before midnight of January 1, 1949 both the Governments ordered their troops to ceasefire in pursuance of the agreement arrived at as provided for by the Resolution of August 13, 1948.

India accepted the proposals of the Commission of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, on the basis of certain assurances: (1) that the sovereignty of the Jammu and Kashmir Government would not be brought into question; (2) that no recognition would be afforded to the so-called Azad Kashmir Government; (3) that the territory occupied by the Pakistan troops would not be consolidated to the disadvantage of the State; (4) that there would be a large-scale disarming and disbanding of the Azad Kashmir forces; (5) that the question of the northern areas would receive consideration in the implementation of the Commission's proposals.

"What happened to these assurances? Under these proposals

the sovereignty of the Jammu and Kashmir State was, in fact, denied for the areas on the other side of the cease-fire line—in other words, for nearly one-half of the entire areas of the State; secondly, the administration of these areas by 'the existing local authorities', an expression interpreted in some quarters to mean 'the Azad Kashmir Government' authorities, was recognised; thirdly, the consolidation effected by Pakistan troops to the detriment of the State was allowed to remain; fourthly, the disarming and disbanding of the Azad Kashmir forces were neutralised by similar disarming and disbanding of the State forces and the State militia; fifthly, the claim made by the Government of India in respect of the northern area was dismissed. Thus the net effect of the proposals was to eliminate or neutralise everyone of the assurances relied upon by India."

India's position on Jammu and Kashmir was clear and unambiguous. The two resolutions of the Commission dealing with the plebiscite were conditional and contingent on Pakistan vacating its aggression. As Pakistan did not fulfil this condition, which was the very basis on which these two resolutions were founded, and the condition not having been complied with and the basis having disappeared, these resolutions are no longer binding on us. What are the bases which have disappeared and how Kashmir today is an integral part of India, legally, constitutionally, and ethically can be summed up in the words of Morarji Desai :

"1. The State Government of Kashmir merged itself in India in 1947 unconditionally. The people of Kashmir had also agreed to this, in fact, through their then leader, Sheikh Abdullah, and subsequently by driving out Pakistani invaders with the help of a small number of Indian armed forces.

"2. India had accepted the Security Council Resolution for a plebiscite in Kashmir on the distinct understanding that Pakistan, too, would accept it and implement it. But Pakistan did not implement it. The Security Council took no steps for full eight years to see that Pakistan carried out its obligations. We could not wait any longer for the implementation of the Resolution by Pakistan, especially under the changed circumstances, which have been conveyed to all concerned several times. We are not, therefore, now bound by this Resolution.

"3. Sheikh Abdullah, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir until 1953, held a plebiscite in the State, in the form of electing a Constituent Assembly, except in the area called "Azad Kashmir", which was in the illegal possession of Pakistan. This vote was almost

unanimously in favour of India and against Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah declared this publicly several times, and also in the Security Council. Two (now three) more elections with adult franchise have been held in Kashmir since. They have confirmed the previous vote. The Constituent Assembly, elected at the instance of Sheikh Abdullah and under his leadership, later formally ratified the merger.

"The question of a plebiscite does not, therefore, arise on any ground whatsoever."¹⁹

SHEIKH ABDULLAH'S CONFIRMATORY STATEMENTS

"In a Press statement issued on November 16, 1947, at Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah stated : "These raiders abducted women, massacred children, they looted everything and everyone, they even dishonoured the Holy Koran and converted mosques into brothels, and today every Kashmiri loathes the invading tribesmen and their arch-inspirators who have been responsible for such horrors in a land which is peopled with an overwhelming majority of Muslims."²⁰

Again in a Press statement issued on November 19, 1947 at Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah said : "The invaders who came in the name of Pakistan to make us believe that they were true servants of Islam scorched our land, ruined our homes, despoiled the honour of women and devastated hundreds of our villages."²¹ On June 18, 1948, at a Press interview in Delhi, Sheikh Abdullah said : "We, the people of Jammu and Kashmir, have thrown our lot with the Indian people, not in the heat of passion or a moment of despair, but by deliberate choice." He added : "The union of our people has been fused by the community of ideals and common sufferings in the cause of freedom. India is pledged to the principle of secular democracy in her policy and we are in pursuit of the same objective."²²

In 1948, Sheikh Abdullah was the head of the Emergency Administration of Kashmir. In that capacity he was a member of the Indian delegation to the Security Council. There he stated : "I was explaining how the dispute arose-how Pakistan wanted to force this position of slavery upon us. Pakistan had no interest in our liberation-let me repeat-Pakistan had no interest in our liberation or it would not also have opposed our freedom movement."²³ He continued : "I had thought all along that the world had got rid of the Hitlers and Goebbels, but, from what has happened and what is happening in my poor country, I am convinced, that they have only transmigrated their souls into Pakistan."²⁴ He added : "We should prove before the Security Council that Kashmir and the people of Kashmir have lawfully and constitutionally acceded to the Dominion

of India, and Pakistan has no right to question that accession."¹⁴ He further said : "I refuse to accept Pakistan as a party in the affairs of the Jammu and Kashmir State ; I refuse this point blank. Pakistan has no right to say that we must do this and we must do that."¹⁵

In his inaugural address to the State Constituent Assembly in 1951, Sheikh Abdullah said : "When the raiders were fast approaching Srinagar, we could think of only one way to save the State from total annihilation, by asking for help from a friendly neighbour. The representatives of the National Conference therefore flew to Delhi to seek help from the Government of India, but the absence of any constitutional ties between our State and India made it impossible for her to render any effective assistance in meeting the aggressor... Since the people's representatives themselves sought an alliance, the Government of India showed readiness to accept it. Legally, the Instrument of Accession had to be signed by the Ruler of the State. This the Maharaja did."¹⁶

On April 12, 1952, the Sheikh stated : "The relationship existing between India and Kashmir which had been sanctified by the blood of countless martyrs was irrevocable and no power on earth could render us asunder."¹⁷ In a broadcast from Radio Kashmir on July 1, 1952, Sheikh Abdullah said : "Kashmir's accession to India is final."¹⁸ On August 11, 1952, Sheikh Abdullah declared in the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir : "It was also made clear that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir State with India was complete in fact and in law to the extent of the subjects enumerated in this Instrument"¹⁹ (Instrument of Accession). On August 19, 1952 in the same Constituent Assembly the Sheikh said : "Our accession to India, as I have stated in my last speech, is complete."²⁰

OTHER LEADERS' VIEWS

On September 8, 1966, the Kashmir Government published a photostat copy of a letter in Urdu sent by Mir Waiz Mohammed Yusuf president of "Azad Kashmir" to Jawaharlal Nehru on July 19, 1958. He wrote that the "10-year-old deadlock" over Kashmir and other circumstances and events had brought more problems and realities than had been imagined earlier. "I want to talk to you on this subject in the light of my 10-year personal experience and observations as also the changed circumstances. It is my view that under the present circumstances Kashmir's accession to India is a better solution. It is now our common objective to work effectively to give final shape to this solution", he said.

Maulana Masoodi, a close associate and friend of Sheikh

Abdullah, told the correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* on September 17, 1965: "We Moslems feel much closer to Kashmiri Hindus than to Panjabi (Pakistani) Mussalmans."²¹

THE PEOPLE OF KASHMIR

The part played by the people of Kashmir during all these years has been splendid. They rejected Jinnah's offer to join him even before Kashmir's accession to India. In return they suffered terribly as Jinnah let loose ferocious Pathans upon innocent and gentle Kashmiris. They cast their votes four times in favour of India. To respect the principle of self-determination for Jammu and Kashmir, the Constituent Assembly of India adopted Article 370 giving a special status to the State until the people had decided its future shape and affiliation.

The All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference was the most powerful and popular political organisation in the State. Its General Council adopted a resolution on October 20, 1950. It recommended the convening of a Constituent Assembly of the State for deciding the position of the State with regard to India. As a result a Constituent Assembly for the State was elected on the basis of adult franchise. It ratified on October 31, 1951 the State's accession to the Indian Union. It also approved the application of several provisions of the Indian Constitution to Jammu and Kashmir. One of these was Article 253. It reaffirms the power of Parliament to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any treaty, agreement or convention with any other country or any decision made at any international conference or body. At the request of the State authorities a clause was added: "Provided that after the commencement of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, no decision affecting the disposition of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be made by the Government of India without the consent of the Government of that State." This was obviously intended to prevent the Government of India from agreeing to any disposition of the State under pressure of the U.N. without the consent of the Government of the State. It meant the State Constituent Assembly or Legislature.

The new constitution of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was enacted on November 17, 1956. It came into force on January 26, 1957. The constitution was ratified by the people of the State in the general elections of February-March 1957. Article 3 of this constitution declared that "the State of Jammu and Kashmir is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India." The Government of India exercises authority in respect of 82 out of 97 items of the

Union list. In the Kashmir constitution a provision was made reserving 25 seats in the Kashmir Legislative Assembly for the elected representatives of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. In accordance with the Indian Constitution, elections to the State Assembly and the Central Parliament are held regularly on the basis of adult suffrage. The people of Kashmir have the right to choose their own Government and way of life. Their language, their religion, their culture and their economic needs are well met in a democratic framework. The people of Jammu and Kashmir are managing their affairs in full accordance with law and their own constitution.

Thus the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India is legally, constitutionally, politically, ethically and on the basis of the will of the people, complete, just, valid and unassailable. No plebiscite would give greater evidence of the Kashmir people's resolve to continue to remain in the Indian Union than their resistance to Pakistan's aggression. They gave no assistance to the infiltrators and were wholeheartedly with India.²³

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S POLICY

Kashmir's accession to India in 1947 was a perfectly legal act, and it could not be challenged in international law. Pakistan was clearly the aggressor in Kashmir in 1947. But certain measures adopted by the Government of India complicated the Indian position on Kashmir. The Government gave Kashmir a special and superior status among the States of the Union under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Till very recently there were two Prime Ministers in India, one in New Delhi and the other in Srinagar. In the presence of such arrangements not only Pakistan but other countries as well could hardly be expected to believe Indian declarations that Kashmir's accession was permanent and irrevocable.

The international opinion was further strengthened by another error committed by New Delhi. Sheikh Abdullah was released in 1964 after a detention of eleven years. At New Delhi he was given a ceremonial reception at the official level. He was readily permitted to visit Pakistan to discuss the Kashmir affair with President Ayub Khan. This gave the impression that the Government of India was preparing the ground for the re-opening of Kashmir question, although all this was done by the Indian Government to improve Indo-Pakistan relations. *Qaumi Awaz*, official organ of the Kashmir Pradesh Congress, "severely indicted" the Indian Government for its policy of "vacillation" on Kashmir. "We feel that the way our leaders have tackled the Kashmir problem since 1947 has been quite wrong", it said editorially. While the Kashmir National Conference

leaders wanted accession to be declared final, "the issue became complicated due to the political expediency of Central leaders and foreign pressure", it said. The paper added that even after the Chinese aggression in 1962 the Central Government "bowed" to the pressure of America and Britain and started ministerial level talks with Pakistan, "thus creating confusion in the minds of the people". It criticised the Centre for allowing Jayaprakash Narayan to meet Sheikh Abdullah. It endorsed G. M. Sadiq's statement that "at a time when Pakistan is making war preparations it will be suicidal to have any talks with Abdullah or anyone else".³³

In reality there is no Kashmir problem. It has been created by the aggressive policy of Pakistan and Indian attitude of preserving peace at any cost. The Indian Government should give up this policy and must strive hard to get back the Gilgit and Muzaffarabad areas styled as 'Azad Kashmir' which are illegally occupied by Pakistan.

(3)

Pakistan's Hatred Against India

Having failed to seize the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, the Pakistan Government and its people bent all their energy and resources to grab the remaining portion of the State, and to conquer India if possible.³⁴ They drew inspiration from the exploits of the Muslim invaders in the past. If Mahmud of Ghazni could plunder India seventeen times, if Shahab-ud-din Ghorî could lay the foundation of the Islamic State here by invading it ten times, if Babar could establish Mughal Empire in India in his fifth attempt and if Ahmad Shah Abdali could overrun this country eight times, Pakistan could also realize its aim by invading this country again and again. To rally their ranks, they coined a new slogan :

"Hans ke liya hai Pakistan,
Lar kar lenge Hindustan".

[Pakistan has been won by giving a smile. India will be conquered by force of arms.]

The Pakistani leaders, press and radio started a vehement campaign of unrelenting hatred against India. This fact will be clear from a few statements out of many, given below :

"Pakistan is under no obligation, international or otherwise, that prevents her from sending her troops to Kashmir."

[Sir Mohammad Zafarullah Khan, Pakistan Foreign Minister, in Karachi on September 8, 1948]

Addressing a cheering crowd, lakhs in number, from the window of the Press Room in the Prime Minister's House, Liaquat Ali Khan declared: "From today onwards, our symbol is this", and he held his clenched fist out of the window.

[Report in *Dawn*, Karachi, July 28, 1951.]

"If the U. N. proves to be a band of thieves, we will have nothing to do with it. We will prove that we can liberate Kashmir with the strength of our arms."

[Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Chief Minister, West Panjab, reported in *Zamindar*, Lahore, January 17, 1952.]

"Division is the essence of the Indian polity. The fierce noise on linguistic riots in Bombay and elsewhere is heard from afar. Mr. Nehru should not equate the authority of his person with any fundamental cohesion in his country. In the absence of his cementing figure, these divisions are bound to enlarge. We are the deadliest enemy India can possibly have and it would be foolish for us not to take advantage of that foreseeable deluge that will ensue after him. In the meantime, besides preparation for the Kashmir Front, we shall do our worst, and God-willing, we shall confront them on all battlefields of diplomacy and cold war, and prove the bitterness of our sting."

[*Pakistan Times*, Lahore, November 26, 1955.]

"The question of Kashmir would never be solved until every man in the country was militarily trained and armed with modern weapons. I am sure Kashmir would never join Pakistan without force."

[Khan Jaleel-ud-din Khan, *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, February 13, 1956.]

"Pakistanis will not hesitate to march on Delhi and teach a lesson to the Indians."

[A. M. Quraishi, Member of the Legislative Assembly of West Pakistan, reported in *Mussalman*, Karachi, March 8, 1956.]

"The year of 1957, after a hundred years, is a year of new hopes. This is a year to spread Muslim rule all over India. New blood should run into our veins to see the year 1957 approaching nearer. Seventy million Pakistani Muslims and fifty million Indian Muslims should have new hopes that after one hundred years they are going to get authority over the whole of India."

[Allama Mashriqi, reported in *Wagt*, Lahore, November 24, 1956.]

"We are prepared to sign defence pacts, both offensive and defensive, with any country which is prepared to help us against our one enemy-India."

[Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, President, Muslim League, in Lahore, on November 26, 1956.]

"We want them (members of the Baghdad Pact) for our defence purposes Our first duty is to strengthen our defence particularly against India no matter what others might say."

[Malik Feroz Khan Noon, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, reported in *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, December 8, 1956.]

"O Hindu! What have you to do with a thing like Government?"

"A government is not something like cow's urine or cow dung; which you may drink or make cakes of."

[Lines in Urdu printed in *Waqt*, Lahore, on December 27, 1956, at the head of an announcement of a public meeting to be held on January 1, 1957, to welcome 1957 as the year of triumph over India.]

"I want to make it clear that Pakistan recognises no international obligations with regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir except those it has voluntarily accepted together with the Government of India in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan dated 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949."

[Pakistan's Foreign Minister in the Security Council on January 16, 1957.]

"Puny nations like Egypt and India are defying U.N."

[H.S. Suhrawardy, during a tour of the United States, reported in *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, July 18, 1957.]

"The open clash with Bharat may occur in one, two or at the most three years but occur it must."

[From editorial of *Morning News*, Dacca, May 5, 1958.]

"We shall never develop friendship with India—our sworn enemy."

[Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, President, Pakistan Muslim League, at a public meeting in Dacca on June 6, 1958.]

"Kashmir is vital for Pakistan, not only politically but militarily as well. Kashmir is a matter of life and death."

[President Ayub Khan in December 1959. Vide Syed Mir Qasim's address to the U.N. General Assembly on September 29, 1965, p. 24.]

"You might say, 'why can't you give up Kashmir?' Well, we cannot give up that dispute not because we are bloody-minded but ... for example, for the reason that Kashmir is connected with our physical security. Thirty-two million acres in Pakistan are irrigated from rivers that start in Kashmir."

[President Ayub Khan at a luncheon meeting at the National Press Club, Washington, on July 13, and reported in *The Pakistan Times* of July 14, 1961.]

"Kashmir is important to us for our physical as well as economic security."

[President Ayub Khan at Karachi on July 19, as reported in *The Pakistan Times* of July 20, 1961.]

"Pakistan's President declared that Kashmir was a life and death question for Pakistan and without the solution of this problem we cannot be assured of the safety of our territory, especially the Western wing of our country."

[Statement made at Dacca on October 18, as reported in *The Pakistan Times* of October 19, 1961.]

"Pakistanis being the best fighting force can meet any challenge thrown by India."

[Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas, President, Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, reported in *Dawn*, Karachi, December 22, 1962.]

"In the event of war, Pakistan would not be alone. Pakistan would be helped by the most powerful nation in Asia. War between India and Pakistan involves the territorial integrity and security of the largest State in Asia."

[Z.A. Bhutto, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, speaking in the Pakistan National Assembly on July 17, 1963.]

"Indian behaviour at the Security Council has neither shocked nor worried the Kashmiris. They have resolved to cross the ceasefire line and expel the intruders from their homeland."

[Raja Hyder Khan, President of the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, reported by *Dawn*, Karachi, February 2, 1964.]

"The alternative solution of the Kashmir issue is war."

[President Ayub in an interview with a BBC correspondent, reported by *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, March 5, 1964.]

"Muslim members of CENTO have been showing much greater appreciation of Pakistan's problems, and taking a sympathetic view of Pakistan's stand" (over Kashmir).

[General Mohammad Musa, Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan, *Dawn*, Karachi, May 9, 1964.]

"Kashmir can never be secured without *jihad*."

[From editorial of *Nai Roz*, Karachi, December 21, 1964.]

"There is a great fund of goodwill for Kashmiris in North African and Middle-Eastern countries. Almost everywhere, the question being asked is when Pakistanis or Kashmiris will take up arms for the Valley's liberation. In fact the Defence Minister of one Muslim country has offered himself to participate in *jihad* if Kashmiris and Pakistanis launched it."

[Maulvi Farid Ahmed, reported in *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, January 1, 1965.]

Abdul Hamid Khan, President of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, after a meeting with President Ayub, said that Ayub "would take more drastic measures to bring about the liberation of Kashmir."

[*Pakistan Times*, Lahore, January 6, 1965.]

"Negotiations or protests cannot solve the issue of Kashmir. It wants blood now."

[From editorial of *Nai Roz*, Karachi, January 17, 1965.]

"It would be for the good of India if she voluntarily transfers the area to Pakistan, otherwise Pakistan would have to use force for the acquisition of the area and that would be a prelude to India's destruction."

[*Nai Roz*, Karachi, February 24, 1965.]

"China may conquer the whole of India. Even then India would not fight China. India is a preacher of non-violence. She is no fool to quarrel with a big power like China. ... Poor India never has the guts to fight even Pakistan, let alone China, which is a mighty power."

[*Mashriq*, Lahore, March 5, 1965.]

"The time is not far off when the six-foot-six-inch Sheikh Abdullah will catch the five-foot-two-inch Lal Bahadur Shastri by the neck and take back Kashmir".

[*Ibid*]

"We are not afraid of war and we will not hesitate to go to war when the time comes."

[*Dawn*, Karachi, March 11, 1965.]

"No more strong protests. Pakistani blood must be avenged by sharpened steel and molten lead. No more weakness."

[From editorial of *Azad*, Dacca, March 16, 1965.]

"We are sure that President Ayub would teach India a lesson which the Indian rulers would never forget."

[*Jang*, Karachi, March 18, 1965.]

"If Pakistan makes up her mind to punish instead of protest, better sense will dawn on Delhi."

[*Dawn*, Karachi, March 19, 1965.]

"We must take appropriate action, which means a tooth for a tooth and an eye for eye. If defence is to be aggressive, then our Defence Forces must be ordered out of barracks and ordered to retaliate."

[*Dawn*, Karachi, March 22, 1965.]

"With massive military aid India has become a serious threat to Pakistan. I am confident that the people of Pakistan, and especial-

ly the armed forces, are aware of the danger and realize their responsibilities."

[President Ayub in an address to the armed services, reported by *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, March 24, 1965.]

"Though America has become a world power, she has not been able to realize that Bharat, whom she has been preparing to counter China, would not dare fight even Nepal. All the military equipment America is dumping in Bharat will one day fall into the hands of other countries."

[*Mashriq*, Lahore, April 17, 1965.]

"The hostilities between Bharat and Pakistan will be a repetition of what happened between China and Bharat in NEFA."

[*Hurriyat*, Karachi, April 23, 1965.]

"Jihad is the only way to solve the Kashmir problem."

[*Pakistan Times*, Lahore, April 28, 1965.]

"Until the fate of Kashmir is finally decided, the struggle will continue."

[President Ayub addressing tribesmen of Dera Ismail Khan Division, reported in *Morning News*, Dacca, May 1, 1965.]

"These are the characteristics of the fighters for Islam. They attain and see paradise under the shadow of the sword. Therefore they are prepared to roast the Indian brinjals on any front."

[*Nai Roshni*, Karachi, May 2, 1965.]

"When the fight in the Rann was on, India's only aircraft carrier *Vikram* and several tankers had to run away in the Arabian Sea at the sight of the single submarine of Pakistan."

[*Jang*, Karachi, May 3, 1965.]

"The Rann of Kutch prescription should be applied to the Kashmir Front."

[*Nawa-e-Waqt*, Lahore, May 9, 1965.]

"Thousands of Razakars are ready to break the Ceasefire Line and march into Occupied Kashmir to the rescue of their brothers."

[Rahmatullah, State Councillor, reported by *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, May 17, 1965.]

"The Pakistan Government should renounce her obligations in regard to ceasefire line and give a free hand to Kashmiris in reorganising themselves for launching a full-fledged *Jihad*."

[Abdul Qayyum Khan reported in *Dawn*, Karachi, May 25, 1965.]

"We will consider it a great fortune to receive Chinese support in meeting any conspiracy of India."

[*Azad*, Dacca, June 6, 1965.]

"India, in her current state of economic, political and moral bankruptcy will crumble at the first impact of violence...India will be the first country to lose its fight without firing a shot."

[*Eastern Examiner*, Chittagong, June 10, 1965]

"We shall go full out, and smaller though we are than India we shall hurt India beyond repair."

[President Ayub, *Dawn*, Karachi, June 20, 1965.]

"In the event of war with India, Pakistani troops would march up to Delhi, would occupy the Red Fort and hoist the Pakistan flag on it."

[*Pakistan Times*, Lahore, July 11, 1965, reporting the proceedings of the National Assembly.]

"India is to Asia today what South Africa is to the rest of Africa, what Israel is to the Middle East."

[Z. A. Bhutto, Pakistan Foreign Minister, *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, July 14, 1965.]

"As a matter of fact, the State of Jammu and Kashmir was Pakistani territory which India has usurped."

[Z. A. Bhutto, Pakistan Foreign Minister, reported in *Dawn* on August 20, 1965.²⁴]

(4)

General Causes

INDIA'S GESTURES OF GOODWILL AND FRIENDSHIP

India has constantly endeavoured during the past twenty years to maintain friendly and amicable relations with Pakistan. It left no stone unturned to placate the implacable Pakistan. From the very inception of Pakistan we have considered her as a sister nation having in common geography, history, culture, ethnology, economics, language and fellowship. No two countries in the world could live so much like brothers as India and Pakistan. We have lived together for centuries. Our aim has been to offer full co-operation to Pakistan in every field, and see her prospering

According to the treaty of partition in 1947, India had to receive three hundred crores of rupees from Pakistan against fifty-five crores which came to the share of Pakistan as division of the cash balances of undivided India. Gandhiji persuaded the Government of India to write off its own share of three hundred crores and pay up

Pakistan's share of fifty-five crores. This action took place at a time when lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs were being slaughtered and enslaved in Pakistan. The measure cost Gandhiji his own life as a desperado shot him dead on January 30, 1948. Commenting on this decision Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said: "We have resorted to this decision in the hope that this generous gesture, in accord with India's high ideals and Gandhiji's noble standards, will convince the world of our earnest desire for peace and goodwill."²⁴

The Government of India restored communal peace in this country within three months. The immigration of Muslims from India to Pakistan completely ceased. Besides the Government permitted two million Muslims to return to India and re-occupy their lands and property. On the other hand no Hindu or Sikh was allowed to remain in West Pakistan by Pakistanis. There are Hindus in East Pakistan, but they are being squeezed out steadily.

Sharing the Panjab river waters was another problem between India and Pakistan. Out of 25 canals 22 were in Pakistan, two in India and one was in both countries. West Pakistan was widely irrigated, while East Panjab was almost dry and barren. Millions of destitute refugees stayed in East Panjab. They were to be supplied food, clothing and shelter. Even then peace-loving India agreed to sacrifice its own vital interests and supply water to Pakistan from its Madhopur and Husainiwala headworks. When Pakistan was at war with us, in the face of loud and long protests from the people, India paid the annual instalment of eight crores. A week after the war, on October 1, 1965, India let out water into Pakistani canals in the teeth of opposition from Panjab, and thereby caused drought in the irrigated area. During the ceasefire period Pakistani Sabres made frequent attempts to destroy the Sutlej barrage at Sulemanki and the Sutlej bridge to cut off our supply line. In spite of this canal water continued to be supplied to Pakistan.

Besides, India accepted some of the provisions of the Indus Water Treaty even when these were unfavourable to her. The Indus system comprises six rivers—Indus, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. Except for the Indus which rises in the Mansarovar Lake in Tibet, all other rivers originate in India. After a long course in this country they enter Pakistan. Even Indus flows through Ladakh and Gilgit before entering Pakistan.

The three western rivers of the system—Indus, Jhelum and Chenab, were given to Pakistan, and the three eastern rivers to India. Pakistan is given exclusive control over its rivers. But the treaty binds India to supply waters of the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej to Pakistan up to

1973. This means large parts of Panjab and Rajasthan will remain parched till then. India also agreed to pay 83 crores of rupees to help Pakistan for building its own irrigation system. The worst part of the treaty relates to the settling of disputes, which can arise under twenty-four different heads pertaining mostly to Indian rivers. These are to be decided in several graduated ways: (1) by a commission consisting of a representative of each country; (2) if the commission fails to reach an agreement, the dispute will be referred to a 'neutral expert'; (3) in case of his failure, the case will go to the 'Court of Arbitration' consisting of two representatives of both the countries and three umpires chosen from a panel of five persons. They are the U. N. Secretary General, the President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Chief Justice of the United States, Director of the Imperial College of Science, London, and the Lord Chief Justice of England. All the umpires but one belong to the United States and Britain, both confirmed allies of Pakistan and by treaties committed to support her.

We earnestly desired to reduce tensions. We were willing to resolve differences with Pakistan. It was in this spirit that the late Jawaharlal Nehru offered to Pakistan a "no-war-pact" in 1949. Since then the offer has been repeated faithfully and religiously like the annual festivals of Diwali and Id. Pakistan has treated it with the utmost contempt.

SOLE AIM OF PAKISTAN

Pakistan's hatred against India knows no bounds. One prime minister of Pakistan purple with passion, stamping and fuming, shook his fist in the air pointing it towards India saying that the fist was their national emblem and with it they would deal with India. Another Government of Pakistan declared that every Pakistani would become Halaku and Chingez Khan for India. Still another Government threatened India to drown its soil in a sea of blood. Ayub and Bhutto proclaimed a thousand years' war against India far transcending the Hundred Years War between Britain and France.

Pakistan has been attacking India on all fronts—diplomatic, military, psychological and political. Diplomatically, it tries to win over all the Muslim countries against India on religious considerations. It seeks to isolate India from Western powers and their satellites on grounds of treaties and regional alliances. It supports China in its plan of world domination by destroying Indian democracy. Militarily, it attacked India thrice and seized a fairly large part of its territory. Its military strength has exceeded parity. Psychologically, it maintains

a continuous reign of terror against its Hindu minority expecting that Hindus in India would rise against Indian Muslims, and secular claims of India were done for. Politically, it enjoys support of China and Britain. It claims merciful protection of the United States against "too big and too strong India".

It is erroneous to think that Pakistan's dispute with India is derived from Kashmir. The Pakistani conflict is much wider than the Kashmir problem. If the conflict had not arisen over Kashmir, it would have sprung over Assam or Calcutta. In the beginning of 1965 it originated over Kutch. If Kashmir is handed over to Pakistan on a platter, it will demand Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal as a corridor to East Pakistan.

Allama Mashriqui, the leader of the Khaksar Party, had publicly declined to be content with a separate Muslim State. For him Pakistan was only to be a springboard from which the whole of India was to be eventually conquered. His thesis was that Hindu India was inherently a hopelessly divided entity which could never withstand a determined assault from outside. This thesis was adopted by Bhutto and Ayub.

OTHER REASONS

The Kashmir dispute is merely one of the manifestations of a deep-rooted disease. The disease is Pakistan's insensate and all pervasive hatred of India. It is related to the evil and wicked ideology under which Pakistan was brought into existence. It was that religion was the only basis of citizenship. Pakistan was conceived in hatred, it was born in hatred, and it continued its existence in hatred.

The present conflict is between secularism and theocracy, between democracy and authoritarianism, between non-violence and violence, between pacifism and aggression, between socialism and feudalism, between non-alignment and alignment, and between those people who wish to revive their ancient glory and grandeur, and those who are determined to repeat the exploits of the north-western invaders of the past.

In political and public character the two countries stand in sharp contrast. They represent two entirely different models in domestic and foreign policies. India is world's largest free and secular democracy. It is a land where the rights of minorities are respected. Her constitution and ideology allow for co-existence of divergent faiths. India's tolerance is reflected in the high positions to which Muslims have risen in administration, education and industry.

Pakistan is a military dictatorship, feudal society and theocracy. It is a land where devotion to the religion of the dominant community is equated with patriotism. It is a country in which newspapers are rigidly censored. There the Government has to resort to increasingly undemocratic pressures to maintain a fearful hold over its own people. A Government that is afraid of its own people, is not prepared to grant the fundamental benefits of suffrage, or to allow parity between its two distant wings. Pakistan grants voting rights to 80,000 persons out of 100 millions, at the rate of one man for every 1,250. It is a police State. Religious minorities enjoy little freedom in Pakistan. No Hindu occupies any office of responsibility in Pakistan. No non-Muslim is recruited to the armed forces. Owing to its reckless policy both at home and abroad, Pakistan stands revealed as a nation whose government is desperate.

One of the main causes of friction between India and Pakistan is the problem of minorities. Before partition of the country the minorities in Pakistan were our own people. They fought and suffered with us alike in the struggle for freedom. They wished to remain with us, but stayed behind in Pakistan as advised by our own political leaders. They were assured of the safety of their rights. The fruits of freedom proved bitter for them, because they were left at the mercy of a party which cherished different ideals and values of life. They are living in terror worse than death. The Government of Pakistan has failed to be the guardian of minorities. India has a great responsibility for them.

Rawalpindi's tactics have been to whip up communal passions in the eastern wing with three objectives. Firstly, people's attention is diverted from domestic problems. Secondly, it squeezes out as many non-Muslims from the country as possible. Thirdly, it increases India's difficulties.

According to the census of 1961 the Muslim population of India increased since 1947 from 35 millions to 50 millions showing a rise of 43 per cent which was higher than the average increase of population in this country. The increase in population of Muslims in Kashmir is also in the same proportion. On the other hand non-Muslim population in Pakistan, including Hindus, Christians, Buddhists and Anglo-Indians in 1947 was over 15 millions. In normal circumstances it should have risen in 1961 to about 20 million. But as given in Pakistan's census report the number of minorities stood at 9 million. From January 1964 to June 1965, in one year and a half, 7,89,000

persons migrated from East Pakistan to India. These included 48,000 Christians and 20,000 Buddhists.²⁷

By this time about ten million refugees have come from East Pakistan. They are still continuing. This is the largest migration in world history. This number exceeds the total number of American, White Russian, Jewish, Korean, Arab and Hungarian refugees all taken together. This exceeds even the entire population of Australia.

The exodus of Christians received notice even in the West. The *New York Times* of February 22, 1964, published a report under the head : "Christian Persecution—Thousands flee East Pakistan into Garo Hills of India." The *London Observer* on February 23, 1964, carried a heading : "Christians flee East Pakistan to Escape Persecution : More than 50,000 Enter India." The British newspaper *Scotsman* of February 29, 1964, published a report under the headline : "Terrors Must Stop—Persecution of Christians in East Pakistan." German and French newspapers also prominently published news of the persecution of Christians in East Pakistan. But nothing came out of these protests.

The Government of India appointed a two-member Commission to enquire into the state of minorities from East Pakistan. It recorded that the minorities received very brutal treatment from "non-Bengali Muslims." They unhesitatingly committed "innumerable murders, rapes and abductions." Arson and looting was a common occurrence. "Appeals to authorities for help were totally ignored." "Most witnesses blamed the East Pakistan Rifles, comprising mostly Punjabis, for the atrocities inflicted on them." The Commission emphasized that communal ill-will was created largely by the West Pakistanis who dominated the civil services in the eastern wing and also controlled the East Pakistan Rifles.

In order to enhance the communal trouble, the Pakistan Government decided to clear a six-mile-deep belt along the 1,349-mile-long India-Pakistan border in East Pakistan of all the non-Muslims. To achieve this object, in addition to the Rifles, Ansars and Mujahids were let loose upon them.

Since 1947, Muslims from East Pakistan have been constantly entering Assam and the neighbouring areas in lakhs. More than three lakhs East Pakistani Muslims entered Assam after 1961. As previously, they were not ejected because the Government of India was slow to recognise the danger of continued illicit immigration from East Pakistan. When the Government became alive to the threat, it

was handicapped in its efforts to drive back the infiltrators by divided counsels within the ministry and the irrational opposition of some Muslim organisations in the country. Encouraged by this, infiltration took place on a larger scale. This time it was carefully organised. Chinese military officers trained Pakistanis in infiltration and subversion techniques. Rawalpindi's aim, besides getting rid of its surplus population in the eastern wing, is to subvert the economy of India's border state and ultimately endanger the country's security. The moral and material aid given by Pakistan to the Naga and Mizo rebels made it clear that Pakistan was bent on creating more complications for India in this region. Several batches of infiltrators sent into the Garo Hills and Goalpara district were intercepted. More batches kept on coming. Pakistan is running a number of camps in Mymensingh district bordering the Garo Hills. The infiltrators clandestinely find their way into Indian territory.

Yet another problem was the evacuee property. The Hindus and Sikhs who emigrated from West Pakistan left behind five million standard acres of agricultural land and housing property worth five hundred crores of rupees. The Muslim emigrants left in India only three million acres of land and houses worth one hundred crores. Not a copper was paid by Pakistan to compensate for this loss.²³

PAKISTAN'S PRESUMPTIONS

India is the principal pre-occupation of Pakistan. Pakistan's approach to every problem is motivated by the single desire to harm India anyhow and at any cost. In thrusting a war on India, Pakistan made certain assumptions. (1) It presumed that the people of Kashmir desired union with Pakistan, and that they would rebel against India and their own elected government in the state. (2) Pakistan believed that the Indian Muslims and Sikhs would rise in revolt against the Government of India and would support Pakistan. (3) Pakistan's top leaders had nursed the illusion that pacifist India with its present economic and political troubles particularly under the Congress regime which was wedded to compromise and surrender lacked the will and ability to resist. (4) In case India felt deeply perturbed over Pakistani aggression, there were Britain and the United States ready to intervene and prevail upon India to agree to peace terms as dictated by Pakistan. (5) Pakistan was encouraged by the assertions of some of the big public leaders in India like C Rajagopalachari and Jayaprakash Narayan who advocated that India being a large country should give away Kashmir to Pakistan to develop better

relations with it. (6) Above all, it was the American military aid which emboldened Ayub and his generals to attack India. Pakistan was firmly of the opinion that Indian soldiers and Indian weapons were far inferior to Pakistani men and material of war. (7) Pakistan was sure that in case of an emergency, China, Indonesia, Iran, Turkey and some other countries of the Middle East would come to its help, militarily, financially and diplomatically.

PAKISTAN'S PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

(I)

Preparatory Measures

PROCUREMENT OF ARMS

Pakistan could not secure Kashmir from India single-handed. It therefore tried to win over as many allies as possible. First of all it tried to create a bloc of all the Muslim States against India and thereby get the Muslim majority State of Kashmir. It secured the support of many, but the solid bloc could not be created because its reactionary approach based on religion did not appeal to progressive Muslim countries, particularly Egypt which was the strongest Muslim State in the Middle East.

It then sought British help. India's growth was considered as a great threat to Britain's *status quo* in the east. This could be prevented by weakening India. Partition was applied to this country for this purpose. The creation of Pakistan as the centre of religious intolerance was intended to keep India in a state of perpetual fear and embarrassment as a safeguard to British interests. Further Britain was trying to enhance Pakistan's political, military and diplomatic power. Shortly after India's independence Britain lost much of its power. But it had influence. In Indo-Pakistan affairs the other Western countries are still guided by Britain because of her long association with this sub-continent.

Pakistan now aimed at getting Kashmir through the United Nations, which was dominated by Western Powers. Pakistan took advantage of this fact and won over the United States by entering into a military alliance with it and by becoming a member of SEATO, MEDO, Baghdad Pact and CENTO. It also gave military bases to the United States in Gilgit, Peshawar and other places. In return the United States committed herself to help Pakistan on military and diplomatic fronts to weaken India.

By arming Pakistan the United States had three objectives. Firstly, non-aligned, non-cooperative Russian-inclined and China-minded India must be punished. Secondly, India should be coerced to join military alliances with her. Thirdly, India should be checked from becoming too powerful on account of its large size, resources and population. In this way Asian powers could be kept within bounds not to be able to challenge American leadership in this part of the world.

The Mutual Security Pact under which Pakistan obtained military hardware from the United States does not say that these arms and equipment were to be used exclusively against Communists. Nor was such a thing stated in the assurances given to India by President Eisenhower, Secretary John Foster Dulles and the United States Ambassador in New Delhi, Ellsworth Bunker. The plain fact is that the military aid to Pakistan was given purely and exclusively to be used against India. From the United States alone Pakistan has been receiving military aid equal to about Rs. 900 million a year. The budget estimates of Pakistan during the past decade show that it has been spending on an average a similar amount annually on "defence". The United States accepted the principle of self-determination for the people of Kashmir. If this principle had been followed by Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War, there would have been no U. S. today. In the Security Council Russia came to our rescue. Otherwise Anglo-American machinations might have succeeded in depriving India of Kashmir long ago.

In 1962 China invaded India. That encouraged Pakistan. It joined China in the hope that this country would help Pakistan in getting Kashmir. To win Chinese goodwill, Pakistan ceded a part of occupied Kashmir to it. China and Pakistan entertain a common hatred and a common hostility against India. Both committed aggression against India in Kashmir. Both laid claims to Indian territory and grabbed a portion of it forcibly. Both constantly apply military,

political and propaganda pressures against India. The aim of Sino-Pakistan conspiracy is (a) to grab Indian territory, (b) to drown India into communal orgies of blood, (c) to cause disintegration of this country, (d) to control Bay of Bengal, Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, and (e) to surround India on all sides.

In addition to the United States, Pakistan procured arms supplies from China, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iran, Turkey, Portugal, France, West Germany and Britain. Lately it began to flirt with Russia also.

Pakistan was now sure that diplomatically India had been isolated. Militarily, it was stronger as it was equipped with the latest weapons of war. Politically, it thought, Nagas and Mizos in the east, Tamilians in the south and Sikhs in the north, would rise in rebellion in case of a Pakistani invasion. It also believed that the Muslims of India in general and of Kashmir in particular would rise leading to communal disturbances in the civil population and mutiny in the army.

PAKISTAN'S VIOLATIONS

All along the border with India, Pakistan established a chain of cantonments. On the borders of Jammu and Kashmir alone there were seven big cantonments: Sialkot 10 miles, Gujrat 24 miles, Kharian 13 miles, Jhelum 4 miles, Murree 15 miles, Rawalpindi 31 miles and Abbottabad 16 miles. It has many air bases in close proximity of the ceasefire line and international border.

In order to test India's patience and capacity to retaliate, Pakistan broke all previous records of violating the ceasefire line. In the first seven months of 1965, Pakistan committed over 1,800 ceasefire violations,² on an average nine violations a day. There were 448 ceasefire violations in Kashmir in 1963, and 1,522 in 1964. These violations included shooting across the ceasefire line, raids, indiscriminate firing on Indian pickets, and ambushing of Indian patrols.

As for the motives behind the increase in border violations by Pakistan, it may be pointed out that the number of incidents varied according to the nature of Pakistan's propaganda. Their number had considerably increased at the time of Presidential election in Pakistan, and again when Sheikh Abdullah had gone abroad. With the approach of the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers and the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London the figure was reaching a new height. Besides, Pakistan wanted to keep the Kashmir issue alive and use it as a lever to boost the sagging morale at home in order to divert people's attention from their real problems. Another objective

of Pakistan was to provoke India into taking some action, and then to invoke the help of other nations and try for a bargain on Kashmir. Apart from concentrating her troops along the ceasefire line, Pakistan also used civilians. These men were fully armed. They had been given military training in schools set up for this purpose. Some of them were being trained in guerilla warfare in specialised institutions. The tribals and mujahids had been engaged on monthly salaries plus whatever they could get by way of booty. Pakistan moved her Seventh Infantry Division from Peshawar and the Sixth Armoured Division from Naushera to the Sialkot and Jammu border. Men of the Khyber Rifles were brought in this area from the Jamrud and Shagai posts. Several thousand men of the Frontier Corps also had been deployed in this sector.

The External Affairs Minister, Swaran Singh, said in the Lok Sabha during question time on August 23, 1965 that 46 boundary pillars had been removed and 58 damaged on different dates during the last 18 months in the Tripura-East Pakistan border.

PAKISTAN'S ARMED STRENGTH

The Institute for Strategic Studies, London, in a publication *"The Military Balance—1964-65"* gave the following details of Pakistan's total armed forces at the end of October, 1964 :

Army : Strength : 230,000—eight divisions organised on a triangular basis and equipped with M-47 tanks, 250,000 lightly armed militia and about 30,000 "Azad Kashmir" troops.

Navy : Total strength : 7,700—one light cruiser (cadet training ship), five destroyers, two anti-submarine frigates, eight mine-sweepers, 10 other ships, a coastguard force of 1,500 men and one American submarine.

Air Force : Total strength : 17,000-25,000-200 aircraft which included 30B-57 Canberras, in two squadrons, one F-104A Starfighter squadron (a second is to be formed), four F-86 F Sabre squadrons (armed with sidewinder missiles), and RT-33 As used for tactical reconnaissance. The transport force included 4 C-130B Hercules.

The army and air force equipment was predominantly American. The naval equipment, excluding the submarine, was of British origin. Pakistan's principal ordnance factories were located at Wah lying about midway between Rawalpindi and Attock.

Time, the international weekly news magazine of the U.S., in its issue of September 10, 1965 wrote :

"Indian army is the larger (867,000 to 253,000). but the Pakistanis are much better equipped. In a contest of quantity versus quality, India could probably overrun populous but poorly defended East Pakistan in a matter of weeks, but might meet disaster in the arid uplands of West Pakistan.. It might well move with caution, since India's armoured equipment consists mostly of aged British Centurions and U.S. World War II Shermans—no match for Pakistan's Patton tanks "

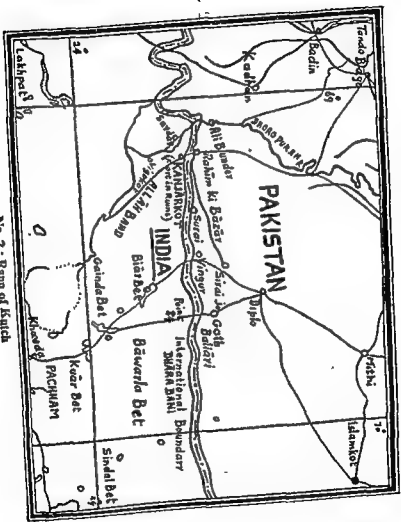
(2)

Rehearsal in Kutch

THE RANN OF KUTCH

Having wrought the fury of the passions of his countrymen to blazing heat, having secured his position in international field, and having built his war machine with latest American weapons, President Ayub was ready to strike at India. Before launching a full-scale assault, some experiment was considered necessary to try the new weapons, fidelity of his friends and India's will to resist. The site chosen was in the Rann of Kutch.

The word Rann is derived from the Sanskrit "irana" meaning desert, and Kutch from Kaccha, the Sanskrit form of 'Kaksho' meaning a marshy ground. There is no reference to water. The geographer, L.W. Lyde in his *The Continent of Asia* supports this view. The Rann is about 320 miles long and nearly 50 miles wide with an area of 8,000 square miles out of a total area of Kutch of 17,600 square miles. From May to October it is submerged by waters of the Arabian Sea. For the remaining six months it is covered with a thick crust of salt and sand. The area is barren, treeless and uninhabitable by human beings. It is easily accessible from Sind rather than from Gujarat. In 1906 the British Government declared it as a marsh and not an inland sea. This is probably the biggest salt-lake in the world. The existence of many valuable minerals like gypsum, limestone, lignite, boxite, etc. is also reported by geologists. Besides, the Rann has got rich reservoirs of petroleum and crude oils. It is this wealth which attracts Pakistan to claim the Rann. Pakistan says that the Rann is an inland sea, and therefore it is entitled to half of it. But the Rann has never been recognised as such.



No. 2 : Rann of Kutch

PAKISTAN'S INTRUSIONS

Disregarding all previous maps and agreements about the boundary in this area, Pakistan described it as running along the 24th parallel. The 24th parallel had never been mentioned in any document concerning the boundary before the creation of Pakistan. The physical demarcation by stone pillars which runs about 23 miles north of the 24th parallel, conclusively disproves Pakistan's claim.

Pakistan sought to enforce this claim by arms. In the beginning of 1956 Pakistani troops penetrated into the northern part of Rann called Chhadbet. On February 19, 1956, a routine Indian patrol approaching Chhadbet was fired upon by Pakistanis. When Indian troops moved into the area on February 25, the Pakistanis were nowhere to be seen, because they had already withdrawn across the border into their own territory.

Thereafter the prime ministers of India and Pakistan agreed that the boundary between India and West Pakistan should be demarcated by the Central Surveys of India and Pakistan. By 1963 the boundary with Panjab and Rajasthan was demarcated. Then the Pakistani surveyors withdrew, leaving the boundary with Gujarat unmarked. No reply was sent to India's reminders afterwards.

Pakistanis might have been roaming about into the Rann of Kutch since then. It was on May 12, 1964, that three Pakistanis were found near Kanjarkot, about 1,300 yards from the international border inside Indian territory, and were expelled². On January 25, 1965, Indian border police found Pakistani troops in occupation of the Rann territory along the international borders for about 18 miles to a depth of nearly 1.5 miles.⁴ Indian police officials after great effort met the Pakistani police officials on February 5, 1965, but the latter declined to have any discussion on this matter. On February 10, a strong Pakistani force armed with rifles, stenguns and light machineguns occupied Kanjarkot. In response to Government of India's proposal for a joint meeting the DIG, Rajkot Rangers and Lt. Col. Aftab Ali, Commandant of the Indus Rangers had a meeting at Kanjarkot on February 15, 1965. The Colonel said, "they had not occupied Kanjarkot but that they were patrolling the area up to the track south of Kanjarkot which according to him was the old customs track adjoining Surai and Ding."⁵ On February 18, Indian High Commissioner requested Pakistan's Foreign Office to arrange a meeting of their expert surveyors with Indian surveyors to decide the boundary line so that the Pakistani forces could be withdrawn from Indian territory. In

reply to this note, the Government of Pakistan on March 1, 1965, stated that "Kanjarkot fort had not been occupied by the Indus Rangers". The suggestion of a joint meeting of surveyors of both the countries was rejected. The proposal was repeated by India on March 11 and April 8, 1965, but without any result.

THE ASSAULT BEGINS

Pakistan drew up the plan of attack on the Rann in the second week of March, and the mobilisation of Pakistani forces began early next month. Orders for the attack were issued on April 7, 1965, and the assault was launched in the early hours of April 9, 1965, with two battalions of the 51 Infantry Brigade of the Pakistan Army. The Indian post of Sardar, 3 miles south-west of Kanjarkot, was carried with heavy artillery, mortars and medium machinegun fire. Indian army units took the field the same evening. They moved into Vigokot south-east of Kanjarkot under Pakistani firing and shelling, and recovered Sardar post on April 10, 1965.

Pakistan concentrated its 8th Infantry Division along with two armoured and several artillery regiments on the Kutch border. Pakistani armed attacks of increasing intensity continued at several points into Indian territory. Ayub proclaimed to the world that it was India who had attacked Pakistan and he was forced to take up arms in self-defence.

On April 13, 1965 Pakistan made the following three proposals : (a) ceasefire, (b) an inter-governmental meeting to decide the status quo to be restored, and (c) a high level meeting. India immediately accepted these proposals ; but Pakistan gave no reply. On April 15, 1965, Pakistan Foreign Minister, Z. A. Bhutto, stated : "It must be remembered that the central fact is that this is a dispute over territory which lies roughly north of the 24th parallel. The dispute has arisen not because the boundary is undemarcated, but because the disputed territory is in India's adverse possession." This was an admission by Pakistan that the territory north of 24th parallel was in India's possession ; but he claimed about 3,500 square miles of it for Pakistan.

On April 19, 1965, Pakistan's earlier proposals were repeated by India for Pakistan's acceptance, but to no purpose. On the contrary Pakistan demanded on the morning of April 23, 1965, withdrawal of Indian armed forces and police from the area in dispute to the north of 24th parallel. Without waiting for a reply, Pakistan delivered a massive attack on Indian forces on the morning of April

24, 1965. It began by a full infantry brigade, tanks and heavy artillery on four Indian posts, viz., Sardar, Vigokot, Chhadbet and Point 84, six to eight miles inside Indian territory.⁹ The Pakistan forces in the Rann consisted of the 8th Infantry Division, 12th Cavalry (Chaffes), 19th Lancers (Pattons), the 14th and the 25th Field Regiments, 12th Medium Regiment, 83rd Mortar Battery and Infantry battalions, 18th Panjab, the 6th Baluch, the 8th Frontier Force and four other battalions.¹⁰

On April 26, Biarbet¹¹ was attacked, but Pakistani forces were repulsed with heavy losses.¹² The Indian Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, declared on April 28: "If Pakistan continues to discard reason and persists in its aggressive activities, our army will defend the country, and it will decide its own strategy and the employment of its manpower and equipment in the manner which it deems best." While the intensive fighting was going on in the Rann of Kutch, the Communist China appeared on the scene as Pakistan's champion, and supported Pakistan's aggression against India.

On April 28, 1965, the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, proposed a ceasefire. It suggested a status quo ante, talks at the official level, then at a political level, and afterwards through a judicial tribunal. The tribunal was to consist of three members. One member was to be selected by India, the other by Pakistan, and chairman by both the countries. In case of disagreement, the U.N. Secretary General was to nominate the chairman of the tribunal.

India accepted these proposals, but Pakistan suggested modifications. Firstly, Pakistan wanted definition of status quo ante. Secondly, Kutch dispute should form a part of all the border disputes between India and Pakistan on the east and in the west. Thirdly, Pakistan police should be allowed to patrol the entire territory of the Rann of Kutch to the north of 24th parallel. To support these demands with arms, Pakistan renewed armed conflicts on May 25, 1965. Pakistan made a fresh attack on Biarbet with armoured cars. The attack was beaten back. On June 15, 1965, in a sharp scuffle, Pakistanis were driven back. Further attacks on Sardar and Vigokot were repulsed.

On June 17, 1965, Ayub and Shastri were in London attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference. The two leaders met separately. The diplomatic Ayub displayed deliberate sweetness and Shastri was taken in as he felt "very happy" at the prospect of peace. On June 29, both of them announced acceptance of the British Prime

Minister's proposals. The agreement was signed on June 30, and ceasefire became effective from the morning of July 1, 1965.

THE KUTCH AGREEMENT

The main points of this agreement were : (a) A ceasefire on both sides to be followed by withdrawal of forces within seven days ; (b) restoration of status quo as prevailing on January 1, 1965, to be completed within a month from the date of the ceasefire, (c) then a meeting between the ministers of India and Pakistan within two months; (d) if such a meeting could not resolve the boundary issue, a three-man impartial tribunal will be constituted within four months of the ceasefire to give its findings on the subject.

The Agreement was criticised by the public on several grounds. It was pointed out that in accepting this agreement which was drawn up by British Foreign Office, London, the Prime Minister of India disregarded the resolution of the Lok Sabha of April 28, 1965 and his own assurance of May 6, 1965. This agreement put the aggressor and the victim of aggression at par. It rendered disputable 3,500 square miles of Indian territory claimed by Pakistan. The agreement said that India and Pakistan would have recourse to the tribunal "for determination of the border in the light of their respective claims". The word "determination" empowered the Tribunal to draw altogether a new boundary line. Besides, the Government of India relinquished its right granted to contesting parties under arbitration by the Hague Court, the highest judicial authority in the world. Article 31 of the statute of International Court of Justice provides for the nomination of *ad hoc* judges to represent the contending parties before the Court. The World Court has 15 judges and the *ad hoc* judges representing the parties are allowed to argue the case within the Court. Further, the last section of the agreement provided that the decision of the Tribunal would be binding on both Governments, and that it "shall not be questioned on any ground whatsoever." This, observed the critics, went clearly beyond the convention of arbitral procedure adopted by the International Law Commission. The convention provides that the validity of an award may be challenged by either party on one or more of the following grounds : (a) that the tribunal has exceeded its powers ; (b) that there was corruption on the part of a member of the tribunal ; and (c) that there has been a serious departure from a fundamental rule of procedure, including failure to state the reasons for the award.

The Indian public vehemently criticized that their armed forces had to withdraw from their own territory and abandon their two posts. Pakistan was given the right to station its troops on the border and to patrol a part of Indian territory between Ding and Surai south of Kanjarkot. By accepting the principle of arbitration, India surrendered its sovereignty over the area.

Prime Minister Shastri initiated a two-day discussion in the Rajya Sabha on the Indo-Pakistan agreement on Kutch on August 19, 1965. Shastri maintained that the agreement did not involve any question of giving away any part of the Indian territory. A temporary agreement allowing the Pakistani police to patrol on a small track within Indian territory did not amount to any territorial rights being vested in Pakistan. "This arrangement will last only till the boundary has been demarcated," he said.

The opposition's argument was that Pakistan's position in Kutch was that of an aggressor, and it had no right to be there. They expressed concern at the Government's decision to accept arbitration to decide the future of Indian territory. This was the first instance of a country ever accepting arbitration to determine its boundaries. Jan Sangh leader A. B. Vajpayee launched the most forceful criticism and charged Shastri with having misled the country. He demanded that Shastri should resign forthwith. Bhupesh Gupta, Communist, described the agreement as "preposterous" containing serious implications.

Winding up the debate the Prime Minister admitted on August 24: "We have taken a risk, no doubt." But he strongly defended himself on the preamble to the agreement. The preamble said that the parties signed the agreement "in the confidence that this will also contribute to a reduction of the present tension along the entire Indo-Pakistan border". The Government of India hoped that this might prove a turning point in restoring the relationship between the two countries to normalcy. It was a sheer folly to have entertained such a confidence at all.

Pakistan hailed the Kutch accord as the first agreement between India and Pakistan, providing for the settlement of a territorial dispute through arbitration. Pakistanis considered it a pattern on which other territorial disputes between India and Pakistan might be settled. The implication was that after the settlement of one dispute, Pakistan would attack India in some other direction and claim a large slice of Indian territory. The matter would be referred to arbitration and

Pakistan was bound to get something if not the whole of the territory claimed by it. This process would be continually repeated and India would yield some area after all. Pakistan was following Hitler's technique, about which Winston Churchill said: "The German dictator, instead of snatching his victuals from the table, has been content to have them served to him course by course". It is not war but a bad peace which settles nothing.

Ayub deceived India by hailing the agreement as harbinger of goodwill and harmony between the two countries. He declared: "I hope this will constitute a turning point in Indo-Pak relations.... It was a victory for common sense and it constituted a model for the manner all India-Pakistan disputes could be settled, should other peaceful means of settling them prove unavailing." He expressed the hope that the two countries would "live as good neighbours and direct their resources to developing their economies in peace". It was a pure and simple camouflage to keep India off its guard, and it became clear shortly afterwards. The ceasefire agreement referred only to military personnel of the two countries. So Pakistan ordered its mujahids and razakars, trained armed civilian fanatics, as well as regular soldiers in civilian clothes to continue their raids across the ceasefire line into Kutch. On August 23, 1965, Pakistan's Law Minister, S.M. Zafar, declared at Karachi that Pakistan claimed in the Rann of Kutch, not only territory in the north but also some areas south of the 24th parallel.

TRIBUNAL ON KUTCH

The Indo-Pakistan agreement of July 1, 1965, required the two countries to submit their nominations for the tribunal by September 30, 1965. Both were asked to make an effort to name a mutually acceptable chairman by that date. Failing this, the chairman would be nominated by the U.N. Secretary General by October 31, 1965. India made it known to London that despite the current Indo-Pakistan conflict it would like the tribunal to go ahead with the task assigned to it and give the verdict on the basis of facts and documents placed before it.

India proposed the name of a judge of the Ceylon Supreme Court for the chairmanship of the international tribunal on Kutch. But this proposal was rejected by Pakistan. Then the U.N. Secretary General U. Thant nominated Gunnar Lagergren, a judge of the Swedish Supreme Court, as chairman of the Kutch Tribunal. India

named Ales Bebler of Yugoslavia as its nominee on the tribunal, while Pakistan chose Nasorullah Entezam of Iran as its representative. Both India and Pakistan submitted their memoranda in the beginning of 1966. This was followed by examination by Pakistan of certain documents submitted by India and by India of the documents submitted by Pakistan. A counter-memoranda was subsequently submitted by both Pakistan and India.

The scheme adopted by the Tribunal was examination of all the documents first of all. Then it was to hear the oral submission of the case by both the parties. In the second oral submission the two sides had to argue in the light of the case presented by the other party. India's case was explained by C. K. Daphtary, Attorney General of India, and Palkhiwala, Advocate General of Bombay. Pakistan's case was argued by Manzur Qadir, former Foreign Minister and now a leading lawyer.¹²

RESULTS

What did Pakistan achieve in Kutch? Ayub wanted to try the American arms which had not been tested before. He desired to see the performance of his men trained in the new technique of fighting. He was also anxious to see whether India would remain steadfast in her quest for peace, and from this point whether India could be pressurized by Pakistan's Western friends. In all these expectations Pakistan was successful. Ayub seems to have come to the conclusion that in a major war India could be defeated by Pakistan and her foreign friends would enable her to retain whatever Indian territory Pakistan would be able to occupy during the conflict. Pakistan also hoped to draw off sizable Indian forces from Kashmir and Panjab to Kutch so as to create more favourable conditions for its "Gibraltar forces" which were already in being and could have struck more effectively in those circumstances. The events in Kutch did not develop as desired. India did not rush large armed forces to Kutch.

Kutch was only a rehearsal of what was to follow in Kashmir. The British Prime Minister had played his role most astutely. The people of India clamoured and complained, but the Government of India reacted in the manner anticipated by Britain and Pakistan.

Ayub's trial of strength was successful as far as the plains were concerned. But in his scheme, fighting was to take place almost to the same extent in the hills of Kashmir. To avoid all possible risks it was considered desirable to have another test in high hills difficult of access. The region selected was Ladakh.

(3)

Trial Performance in Kargil

LADAKH

The area of Ladakh is 44,000 square miles. It is sparsely populated, with a total population of 88,000, the average being two persons to one square mile. It is divided into four tahsils. Kargil, Leh and Zaskar are with India. Skardu is in illegal occupation of Pakistan. Out of Ladakh's 259¹⁴ villages, 110 are in Leh, whose population is 40,000 and area nearly 30,000 square miles. Its altitude varies from 9,000 feet to 28,000 ft. River Indus passes through the entire length of Ladakh from south-east to north-west. The region south of Zoji La is thickly forested. The rest of Ladakh is sand and stone. Sand is formed by crumbling of rocks due to hot sun in the day and freezing temperature at night. There is little rain, not more than 3 inches in the year. No timber or fuel is available. A tree is considered a sacred thing. Snowfalls are heavy and frequent. Yak, antelopes, wild asses and wild sheep are found up to the height of 17,000 ft. Villages exist up to 15,000 ft. At night there is everywhere sub-zero temperature. At Dras, between Zoji La and Kargil on the Srinagar-Leh road, the temperature at night is -30 to -45 degrees centigrade in winter. Biting, fierce winds blow all over Ladakh in the night. Almost everything is frozen. Jeeps can be driven over river Indus. Vegetables and fruit become stony in the night. Cooked food and tea in a couple of minutes are frozen and become uneatable. The soldiers from plains suffer from loss of efficiency, sleep, appetite and certain diseases, all arising from high altitude conditions and solitude.

The people are a mixture of Aryans and Mongols. Population of Kargil tahsil is entirely Muslim of the Shia faith. Leh and Zaskar are Buddhists. Living close to nature, a Ladakhi is happy, honest, and hardy. People are so peace-loving that murder is unknown in Ladakh. Theft does not exist. "They are very truthful and honest, and it is said that in court the accused or defendant will almost invariably admit his guilt or acknowledge the justice of the claim."¹⁵ Singing, dancing and merry-making is a part of their life. Barley and salted tea is the common food and drink.

A network of roads has been built in Ladakh. There is hardly a village which is not connected by a road. The Kargil-Leh motor road, 153 miles is the main highway. Planting of trees is going on with zeal. Water storage tanks are constructed for irrigation. A few

canals also have been laid out.¹⁸ The attempt to tame Ladakh and bring it in the mainstream of Indian industrial and economic life is on simultaneously with the measures being perfected to defend it against any possible Chinese attack. A micro-hydro-electric project is under construction by army engineers at Ganglas village, 13,800 feet. It will harness the waters that come down a local stream flowing from the Khardung La. Its three generators will have a total capacity of 300 kw. The power house is expected to function even during the freezing winter months. The power will be picked from the hot stream flowing under a six inches snow top of the 4,000 yard long power channel. The project estimated to cost Rs. 20 lakhs has just been commissioned. Two more hydro projects are also under investigation.

Today Ladakh produces over 9,30,000 quintals of cereals annually which includes 19,500 quintals of wheat. There is a sheep and wool farm at Chushul, a yak breeding farm at Naubra, a poultry unit at Kargil and a duck unit at Leh. Two weaving centres, one at Leh and the other at Kargil have been set up to train local people in the use of modern scientific techniques in spinning, weaving, carpet making, dyeing and milling. Schools have been opened even in the remote areas. There are two well-equipped hospitals and a number of dispensaries. Post and telegraph facilities have been considerably expanded. The number of post offices is 110. Telegraph offices exist at Leh, Kargil and Dras.

SUPPLIES TO LADAKH BY LAND AND AIR

There is only one road of great vital and strategic importance connecting Srinagar with Leh in Ladakh. Our troops, generally perched on hundreds of snowy peaks all along the frontier, guard India against Chinese and Pakistanis always bent upon aggression. By this road supplies of food, clothing, arms and ammunition are sent in convoys. This 700 kilometer long road was built in 1962. It starts from Srinagar 5,000 feet and goes through high mountain passes, Zoji La 11,200 feet, reaching Kargil 9,500 feet, Namaki La, 12,200 feet, and Fotu La 13,400 feet to Leh 11,200 feet. This serpentine road is the highest in the world. It runs two to five miles from the ceasefire line over a distance of 15 miles in the Kargil sector at an average height of 9,000 feet. The Pakistanis command most of the high peaks at altitudes of 12,000 feet and above lying on the other side of the ceasefire line in this sector. They are, therefore, in a position not only to observe every movement and happening on the Indian side below but also fire at will with great ease. With the help of powerful

binoculars they count the exact number of vehicles from Kafir Pahar, 13,620 feet, and convey this information to Chinese encamped on our borders in Ladakh. Beyond Leh this skyway from Shakti 13,000 feet to Chang La 17,350 feet, a 15-mile long stretch, is so smooth and good that our drivers have named it the Mall of Ladakh, though it has neither a fashion centre nor a scandal point as found in the Mall of other places. It reaches Dorbuk 16,000 feet and Chushul where lies the highest airfield in the world.

Here the sepoy driver's job is as difficult as that of a soldier. He keeps his hand firmly on the wheel, his foot on the brake pedal, his unblinking eyes straight ahead, and his mind alert on fulfilling his mission. The dizzy heights of Himalayas do not blur his vision. The deep gorges and the river Indus below do not frighten him. The fear of the enemy ambush does not deter him. He drives his three-ton truck with confidence and devotion. He travels in caravans of hundreds, and does his job efficiently and well. Every truck is manned by three drivers; and the journey from Srinagar to Leh is covered in three days. The atmosphere is so rarefied that both man and vehicle gasp for breath. The trees cease from view at Sonamarg. This beautiful picnic spot in Kashmir is surrounded by numerous glaciers. Afterwards the mountains are covered with stunted shrubs. They also disappear at a certain height. Now the mountains are bare and bleak for lack of vegetation, and everywhere snow is in sight. Zoji La area is said to be the second coldest region in the world. Here the snow-bearing winds blow at a speed of 30 miles an hour throughout winter.

At Kargil town (9,500 feet) the half-way point on this road, the ceasefire line is two miles away. Here the Pakistani danger looms so large that the enormous natural hazards of terrain are forgotten. The Pakistanis often lay mines on this road. The firing at convoys is a frequent occurrence. In 1954 half the convoy was blown up by the bursting of a mine. Besides they rained shells and mortars on the trucks from the two hills situated across the ceasefire line commanding this road. To guard themselves against the standing Pakistani menace, the drivers are fully armed. At the sight of the enemy they immediately step out to fight.

The road up to Kargil remains closed for six months from mid-November to mid-May on account of heavy snowing and constant blowing of blizzards. The supplies by road are therefore carried only in summer months. The road from Kargil to Leh and beyond is not permanently blocked in winter. But it is not of much use as the first

half of it is unusable. The vehicles are in the greatest danger to slip immediately after a fresh snowfall. Snow-chains are used to prevent the sliding of the wheels of heavy trucks. This device also fails on occasions. In October 1964 a truck with its drivers slipped down this road into the river Indus flowing about 100 feet below. The same year an entire convoy going from Leh to Durbuk was overtaken by heavy snowfall at the highest point at Chang La 17,350 feet. Leaving their vehicles the crew returned to the base. They recovered their trucks after eight days. The Srinagar-Leh convoys in 1964 met with 38 accidents including two major ones. In June 1965 a vehicle slid into the river Indus but 23 *jawans* and the drivers jumped out of it into the river and swam safely ashore. That year the road opened only in the middle of July. In the first month there occurred ten accidents, all minor. The greatest annoyance to the drivers lies in starting their engines. They have to struggle hard for nearly an hour to get them heated. Generally the truck is towed fast enough by another running vehicle for some distance to enable it to gain necessary heat.

Most of the drivers are in their early twenties. They are recruited from all over India. After recruitment they are given one year's training in infantry fighting and driving. Then they are sent straight to Kashmir to get further training in meeting the challenge from mountain heights, hilly streams and rivers, and inclemency of weather. Later they are attached to trucks going to Ladakh as aides to the chief driver. After a few trips they hold independent charge of a vehicle. Ladakh is supposed to have been visited by the Pandavas during their 12 year exile. Three places situated in this area—Draupdi Temple, Pandav Ras and Bhim Batt—remind our *jawans* of their visits. They are inspired by these holy relics to face the biting blizzards and other hazards of the road heroically.

In winter goods are flown to the camp doors of our brave soldiers and officers who keep a vigil on our frontiers. The I. A. F. transport planes carry everything under the sun from *atta* (flour) to artillery, biscuits to bulldozers, chocolates to cement, lemon to love-letters, and from meat to machineguns. They carry loads weighing up to two tons to a height from 22,000 to 28,000 feet.

The military transport aircraft flies at a speed of 500 kilometres per hour. It has four engines. In times of emergency it can serve even on two engines. The flights are usually made at sunrise to avoid clouds on the way. On the flying day the six-man crew gets up at 4 o'clock in the morning, and boom off from the airfield towards India's northern frontiers by 6 a.m., long before the first rays of the

sun creep over a city in Panjab. The captain flies the aeroplane himself at the take-off, air-drop and landing, and especially while passing over hostile terrain. The co-pilot takes over the plane, usually on the return journey. The flight engineer sits between the two pilots. He controls the engine, besides watching its fuel consumption. The wireless operator has his seat behind the co-pilot. The navigator is in the nose and the gunner at the tail. The latter is also the load-master. He attends to the loading and unloading and the air-dropping of supplies. Where road communications are difficult, supplies are dropped by parachutes. For this purpose the plane selects a valley 500 to 1,000 square yards in area. The plane flies low to a height of 1,000 to 1,500 feet above the dropping surface. The plane slightly inclines. The load slides and floats down.

SAGA OF GALLANTRY AT KARGIL

Pakistan selected Kargil as its target. This is the weakest spot in the defence of our northern frontiers. Pakistan's objective was to starve Indian forces facing the Chinese in Ladakh of their vital supplies of food and military equipment. Pakistani attacks here were not mere violations of the ceasefire line which happened in a small way every day. They were part of a regular campaign which raged fiercely day and night for 45 days over a 15-mile stretch to the south of Kargil. The Pakistanis used the heaviest equipment they could haul at these heights. They included high calibre mortars and shells.

Just two miles beyond the Srinagar-Kargil-Leh road, across the ceasefire line there are two Pakistani posts at the highest points in the neighbourhood of Kargil. They dominate Kargil town, 9,500 feet, and the road. They are manned by Baluchi soldiers of the South Waziristan Scouts. One of them is on a peak 13,620 feet high known as Kafir Pahar as well as 13,620. The other is named Saddle because of its shape. It is 12,000 feet high and is situated 8 miles south of Kafir Pahar. From these advantageous positions the Pakistanis had been harassing Indian positions and making every effort to disrupt the only line of communication in this part of the country. Our constant protests to the local commanders and Pakistani authorities at Rawalpindi bore no fruit.

On May 16, 1965, about forty Pakistanis attacked our picket below a rock feature called Crooked Finger. They were armed with 2 inch mortars, light machineguns and grenades. Our soldiers' blood boiled at these intrusions. They decided to take up the initiative and capture the Pakistani posts. It is a story, tough and tearful

written in toil and blood. It is a tale of mettle and morale, of dauntless and unbending spirit, and of heroic and classic struggle. On the barren and brown and snowy and slippery slopes at dizzy heights were located enemy pickets. The Indian posts were situated at a lower level. There were no tracks and no means of carrying supplies and stores.

The operation began a little after mid-night between 16-17 May, 1965, a few hours after the Pakistani attack. It was a clear moonlit night. Our men had to haul heavy artillery equipment themselves as no animal could traverse the terrain. Slowly and steadily they made their way up from Crooked Finger to scale 4,000 feet of steep and rugged cliff, unaware that enemy guns were trained on them. Another officer led his 16-man assault force from a neighbouring nullah. Artillery units moved up from another theatre.

When our men were about 200 yards from their objective, the enemy unleashed a furious barrage of light machinegun fire. The fire was so heavy that the attackers were obliged to take positions for a while. *Major Daljit Randhawa fell as a bullet hit him.* The Commanding Officer took over a light machinegun from a fallen *jawan*. They were crawling up as they fired and were fired upon. The battle was in full fury. As they were within 50 yards of the objective, Sepoy Budh Singh like a wounded tiger rushed on into the very bunker from where the enemy was firing. He threw grenades and stopped the enemy firing. Then began the hand-to-hand combat, and many Pakistanis were pushed down the hill. Captain Ranbir Singh, son of a retired Brigadier, though wounded, was among those engaged in duels.

On capturing the strategic hill feature, known as 13,620 from its height, the small Indian force came to attention as the national anthem was sung and the tricolour hoisted on this peak. Immediately after this these troops fanned out and chased the enemy away from their posts on the Saddle. All this involved seven to eight hours' hard climbing and fighting. By the morning of 17 May both the posts were in our hands. The enemy suffered about 40 casualties.

This was a feat of dash, daring, endurance and tactics. The Rajputs had established their superiority over their Baluch adversaries. Captain Ranbir Singh and Sepoy Budh Singh were awarded Vir Chakra for their meritorious part in these operations. Soon after the loss of their posts, the Pakistanis fired for three consecutive days on the road to prevent movement of our convoys. They also attacked three Indian posts in the area. These attacks were synchronized with infiltration by trained commandos, equipped with hand-grenades

and detonators, to disrupt roads, damage vital installations and blow up bridges. A party of five commandos in civilian clothes was intercepted by our men on Harka Bahadur bridge¹⁷ over the Shingu river about seven miles south of Kargil. On sighting the Indian troops, the commandos took to their heels ; but Indians opened fire, and mortally wounded all of them. They fell into the river and their bodies were carried away by water to Pakistan. Between May 17 and June 1 the Pakistanis made as many as 58 attacks on Indian positions including the important road link.

Kala Pahar or Black Mountain is a 14,000 feet peak, situated in Indian territory, overlooking the Srinagar-Leh road. It is about 1,000 yards off from the ceasefire line, and 5 miles away from point 13,620 in another mountain range. To regain their dominating position and to renew harassment of the Indian side from a position of advantage, which they had to discontinue after the loss of their posts, the Pakistanis occupied the unguarded Kala Pahar and the neighbouring ridges on the night of 28-29 May 1965, and started shelling the road again. An Indian patrol party detected the Pakistanis on this hill and reported the matter to the headquarters.

Two companies were ordered to push the enemy off the Kala Pahar and the ridges. It was decided to launch the attack on the night of 4-5 June 1965, from terrain which was extremely difficult. Each soldier had to climb up for about eleven hours over tall columns of sheer rock and treacherously slippery boulders to reach the right side of the ridge in the face of 200 Baluchi soldiers firing from the top. The attack was opened with an hour's artillery bombardment of the Pakistani position, and the enemy was expelled after two hours' fighting. The Pakistanis fought from bunker to bunker on the Indian soil, and sixty of them lay dead. One junior commissioned officer and two soldiers were captured. A large quantity of arms and ammunition was left behind by the fleeing Pakistanis. By 6 June the whole area was cleared of the intruders. In the words of the Commanding Officers : "It was a task of rare magnitude fulfilled with equally rare daring and excellence."

There was another 16,000-foot-high ridge called Snow Ridge. It was situated in our territory. The Pakistanis tried to seize it, and they began preparing bunkers. Indian patrol noticed them, shelled their position, and compelled them to withdraw to their territory. Afterwards the Pakistani authorities strengthened their forces in this area by a large number of Karakorum Scouts, one of Pakistan's best mountain fighting units. The entire Kargil area along the Srinagar-Leh road was cleared of the continuous Pakistani

menace.¹⁸ Though these operations were small in nature and extent, yet their significance was great. Pakistan's sing-song, voiced vigorously since the Chinese aggression in 1962, of "the Indians are on the run, chase them", was given a fitting reply in Kargil.

The strength, steadfastness, endurance and courage displayed by our *jawans* and officers just in their early twenties were magnificent. The terrain they had to climb was rugged and inhospitable. The heights were formidable in the extreme. There were no tracks to go by. They had to advance on all fours and sometimes crawl on their bellies with all the load of military equipment on their back. All this was done in the face of a ruthless enemy who together with the deadliest fire showered the filthiest abuses through loudspeakers on our men and officers.¹⁹ They showed that they could hold their own even in a grim struggle.

PAKISTANI POSTS VACATED

The Pakistanis and their friends in the United Nations Secretariat exerted pressure on U. Thant, Secretary General. Thant gave assurance to India that a team of observers would be stationed on both sides of the ceasefire line in the Kargil area to prevent Pakistani incursions on the Srinagar-Leh road in future. The Congress peace-party vacated both Pakistani posts on June 30, 1965. It is evident in the light of such a policy, what Pakistan, China and other enemies of India would design towards her in future.

This action of the Government of India might have created a depressing effect on our forces. To encourage and hearten them Defence Minister, Y. B. Chavan, went to Kargil at the end of July 1965. He told them that he had come to congratulate personally the officers and *jawans* who had participated in the operations. He declared that the entire country was happy over their remarkable performance.²⁰

To encourage the people of Ladakh, some 15,000 of them were invited to a meeting at Leh on August 4, 1965. They came from all parts including the Chushul Naubra Valley, Chanthang and Zaskar. The Revenue and Transport Minister of Kashmir, Mohammed Ayub Khan, presided over the meeting. A resolution was passed appreciating the bravery of the Ladakhi soldiers and it was also put on record that they would never be browbeaten by the warlike threats of the Chinese and Pakistanis.²¹

But the United Nations assurances as adumbrated by U. Thant himself proved futile. U. Thant admitted in the Security Council :

"Subsequently there were some military attacks on road by armed elements from the Pakistan side". Sporadic firing and intermittent shelling continued unabated. On 11 August there was a severe attack by the enemy. On 12 August four Pakistanis were killed and three wounded in an exchange of fire with our troops. On the night of 15-16 August Pakistani troops launched a strong attack on the Srinagar-Leh road at several points. After a bitter fight the enemy was driven away.

Out of sheer desperation the Indian troops pursued the fleeing Pakistanis to their posts on the two hill features, Kafir Pahar and the Saddle, and seized them again on August 16, 1965. It was a defensive move to guard against the constant harassment of our vital communications. It was neither retaliation nor aggravation. Radio Paki-stan in its news broadcast on 16 August (noon) admitted that Indian forces had crossed the ceasefire line in Kargil area and had occupied three border posts.

On 20 August 1965 the Pakistanis shelled our administrative headquarters at Kargil with two-inch mortars and 3.5 mm rockets. A United Nations Observer was then present in our office at the time of the attack. Vigorous counter-shelling by our troops silenced the enemy. Pakistanis also attacked a border road camp at Dras on the road between Zoji La and Kargil, but the raiders were chased away.

On September 2, 1965, Pakistani troops fired on one of the Indian posts with medium machineguns and mortars. Nine Pakistanis were killed or wounded as a result of the return of fire by Indian forces. On 12-13 September night Pakistanis were detected laying land-mines to the north-west of Kargil. They were challenged by the Indian patrol. After some fighting, Pakistanis fled away across the ceasefire line, leaving behind bodies of nine of their colleagues, and dragging away the wounded. On September 16, nineteen Pakistani soldiers were killed and wounded in two engagements. In reply to fire from a Pakistani post on 17 September our troops opened fire, destroyed nine Pakistani bunkers and saw the enemy fleeing from their post.

INFILTRATION INTO JAMMU AND KASHMIR

(1)

Planning and Preparation

Having tested the strength of his army and success of his diplomacy, Ayub Khan plunged himself into his scheme of conquest. A deep conspiracy was hatched between Pakistan and China to undermine India's security and integrity and to create unrest and chaos in this country. The plot was to seize Kashmir by stratagem or force or to convert it into another Vietnam. Pakistan was to play the role of Hanoi regime with Chinese support. India's role in Kashmir was to be equated with that of the United States in Vietnam. They aimed at introducing further Vietnam-type struggles in other sectors of India's frontiers. The operation was to consist of three stages : (a) concealed mobilisation and hit-and-run attacks ; (b) larger and highly mobile operations ; and (c) the classic military offensive.

With these objectives in view a number of Pakistani military officers began receiving training in guerilla methods from Chinese army instructors in September 1963. Recruitment of infiltrators was started in the beginning of 1964. A letter dated March 12, 1964, superscribed "secret" was found among the records of the police station, Burki. It was addressed to the S. H. O. Burki, with a copy to the Chairman, Union Council, Burki. It said mujahids for Kashmir would be recruited from Bhangali and a dozen surrounding villages

"in the last week of March 1964." The letter stated that all physically fit citizens of Pakistan would be eligible for recruitment to the mujahid force and those selected would have to produce security clearance from the police. The S. H. O. was directed widely to publicise the recruitment drive in the village concerned. The letter was signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Imdad Ali Khan, Commanding Officer 26th Regiment Artillery, at Lahore Cantonment. It bore No. C8/6045/58. For the grant of allowances to the mujahids, it quoted Pakistan's Defence Ministry letter No. 3728/4/ Inf-4/7919/D/ 1A, dated November 7, 1963. Hectic preparations began towards the close of 1964 by imparting intensive training to armed personnel in guerilla warfare. A special organisation for intensive training of raiders was set up at Murree under Lieutenant-General Akhtar Hussain Malik, GOC, 12 Infantry Division in the beginning of 1965. New training centres were set up. After a short course of training, the guerillas were sent to the headquarters to be ready to infiltrate into Indian territory. According to some villagers of Hajipir area, it was in January 1965 when certain high civil officials of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir along with a few army officers had visited the border region. They had scanned and mapped the hill spurs in the lower Jhelum region on which the Pakistani forces concentrated themselves during the months of July and August 1965.

Lt. Col. Bernard E. Anderson of the U.S.A.F. in a letter to the U.S. news weekly *Time* of October 1, 1965, wrote: "In April, I returned from Pakistan. We all knew then that this fight was coming: the Paks were painting their ground equipment battle-grey over the original yellow, were building revetments for their aircraft, etc."³

Pakistan planned air attacks on various airports in India in April 1965. The Defence Ministry released on September 11, 1965 a photostat³ copy of a page from the diary of a Pakistani pilot. The aircraft of the pilot-B 57, crashed near Jamnagar on the night of 6-7 September when Pakistani planes attacked the Jamnagar airfield. The page dated "Tuesday, April 20, 1965" showed that attacks had been planned on Adampur, Halwara, Ambala, Palam, Agra, Bhuj and Jamnagar. The pilot had carried out during April "practice runs" on a number of airports in a loaded bomber that consisted of 750 pounds of bombs, several rockets and seven flares. On the single day of April 20, the pilot's programme comprised two flights by day and three flights by night.

President Ayub's "Mujahid Fund" was launched in April 1965, when National Bank of Pakistan and the United Bank gave large

donations. Pakistan had intensified sabotage activities in Jammu and Kashmir on a small scale as early as May 1965. The 'Intelligence' of Jammu and Kashmir had discovered a number of Pakistani spy rings. They arrested many saboteurs responsible for cases of sabotage both in Jammu and Kashmir. In June a group leader of a spy ring was arrested at Uri. Another group of two was taken into custody with certain military documents while trying to escape to Pakistan. In Jammu, another ring responsible for bomb outrages was smashed.

Non-official activity was inspired on an all-Pakistan scale to prepare public opinion for hostile action against India. A Kashmir liberation movement was hatched. Pakistani officials sponsored a "protest day" to enlist popular support. Tribal leaders were made to hold out threats of guerilla warfare. During the Provincial Assembly election campaign in West Pakistan in May 1965, *Jehad* was openly preached against India and the *Jamait-e-Mujahidsin* was set in motion. *Majlis-e-Tahafuz-e-Pakistan* observed "Jehad Day" throughout the country on May 21, 1965.

The Pakistan authorities simultaneously further strengthened the ring of security round the population falling within Uri-Poonch bulge. This task was entrusted to the notorious intelligence chief Sajjawal Khan, who, along with his deputies, had moved his headquarters to this area. Assisting him was a Ghulam Muhammad, an adept in medieval methods of torture. Hundreds of innocent civilians were drafted from the bulge area and taken to Bagh tahsil on what was described as "fatigue drill". It consisted of six-day march over difficult mountain routes leading to Hajipir, Sankh Hill, and Uri-Poonch bulge carrying heavy loads of explosives. Many of them died of sheer hunger. The only compensation offered to them was *shahadat* (martyrdom). Those who tried to escape were caught and subjected to ruthless torture. Several failed to return to their shanty huts spread over 15 villages. Feroze-ud-din, an aged Gujar with a flowing white beard from village Kayan, pointed to a nearby nullah with tears, saying he picked up the body of his young son half eaten by vultures from the gorge days after he had been drafted for the "drill". Two sons of Sayyid Shah Imam of the Bearan village, 8 miles ahead of the ceasefire line, were also victims of the "drill". Before the area went under Pakistani domination, he was one of the richest men in the area. He had two houses, one of them pucca. Both were reduced to ashes, because he had consistently tried to evade the clutches of the Pakistan army. The Sayyid finally yielded and offered one of his sons to the army. The other son who had escaped was

captured and taken to Rawalkot,⁴ the brigade headquarters of the Pakistan army in occupied Poonch sector. Rawalkot is half-a-day's journey on foot from the foothills of Hajipir Pass. It was linked with Bagh proper via Dholi by a vehicular road.

General Mohammed Musa, Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army twice visited the forward areas near the ceasefire line in May 1965. During his second visit on May 30, 1965, his planning staff was also with him. He discussed plans with senior commanders and officers. He declared that he was satisfied with all the measures taken up to deal with "any eventuality."⁵ In Pakistan-occupied Kashmir compulsory military training was enforced for all students and young men between the age of 16 and 25 for the "liberation of Jammu and Kashmir."⁶ On May 29, 1965, at a meeting held at Abbottabad, a ten-man Action Committee was formed to organise subversive activities across the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir. By an ordinance issued on June 8, 1965, the Mujahid Force was declared an integral part of the Pakistan Army. The National Assembly approved of this ordinance on June 21. Its strength was fixed at 1,50,000.⁷ In June 1965, the Pakistan Government by an ordinance made it obligatory on employers to release military reservists on recall. Another ordinance ordered the recall of air-force reservists.⁸

PAKISTAN'S MASTER PLAN

Long before Pakistan's invasion of Jammu and Kashmir, Foreign Minister Z. A. Bhutto had declared that Pakistan had a "master plan" which would be implemented in stages "for solving the Kashmir issue." As it turned out later, the plan consisted of the seizure of Srinagar airport and the radio station by its infiltrators, and then to capture the administrative machinery of the State. Pakistan's independence day was to be celebrated at Srinagar on August 14, 1965. If this object could not be achieved through infiltration, the regular Pakistan Army would cross the international border in Chhamb-Jaurian sector, and seize Akhnur and Jammu and then the whole State. In case the second part of the plan also failed, the armoured divisions of Pakistan Army equipped with Patton tanks and supported by Sabre jets, would march into Panjab, cut off Jammu and Kashmir, control its government, and advance upon Delhi, and force the Government of India to complain to the Security Council where Anglo-American bloc would exert pressure upon India to accept Jammu and Kashmir as part of Pakistan. The captured documents revealed that the three columns of infiltrators would begin crossing the ceasefire line towards the close of July 1965. Ayub would seize the bridge on river Beas

on the Grand Trunk Road on September 7, Ludhiana on September 8, have a stroll to Delhi by September 10, and enjoy a banquet in the Red Fort in Shah Jahan's palace on September 11, 1965.

"THE MALTA" AND "GIBRALTAR"

The plan to seize Kashmir by stratagem was called 'Malta' operation, and the infiltrators as 'Gibraltar' Force. On the authority of a captured document³ from a Pakistani officer, it was discovered that the seventh century Islamic crusader, General Jabalul Tariq, was the inspiration behind Pakistanis. While leading an attack on Spain he had captured Gibraltar in a single and sudden assault. Pakistan was to wage a religious war on India. Every Pakistani soldier and officer was required to invoke the blessings of Allah and recite the Koran loudly, while fighting. The title 'Gibraltar Force' was expected to arouse the religious zeal and fanaticism of the raiders.

The Gibraltar Force was classified into three categories-regulars, *mujahids* and *razakars*. Each body consisted of about 3,500 men. The regulars consisted of Pakistani and 'Azad Kashmir' battalions employed to watch the ceasefire line. Mujahids and razakars were organised, trained and financed by Pakistan army commanders. The infiltrators were given two months' intensive training in guerilla warfare in the use of arms and explosives, field craft, patrolling, night marching, ambushing, organising raids, etc. All this was perhaps done under Chinese direction at their headquarters located near Murree and four other centres one of which was at Shinkiarri lying to the west of Muzaffarabad. At the end of the training course in the second week of July 1965, Major-General Akhtar Hussain Malik addressed a conference of company commanders of the force. President Ayub Khan held a social function at Murree, attended by all the officers of Gibraltar Force up to the rank of company commander. Following the example of Cavour while sending a detachment to fight in the Crimean War, Ayub impressed upon them the seriousness, delicacy and importance of the sacred mission assigned to them by the Caliph of Rawalpindi. The mujahids and razakars, apart from carrying arms, served in some cases as porters and messengers. Most of the raiders did not know Kashmiri language.

CIVILIANS TRAINED IN GUERRILLA WARFARE

Interviews with some of the captured guerillas revealed that in Lahore and Sialkot sectors practically every able-bodied Pakistani villager had been given intensive training by army officers. The Pakistanis left behind the guerillas in every village they vacated to act as advance

observation posts and to direct ground and air fire on Indian positions and supply columns. Several attempts were made by the guerillas to sabotage our supply lines at night. There were more than 300 villages in the Sialkot sector penetrated by Indian forces. Every village had a large bunker equipped with a modern wireless set and stocked with small arms and ammunitions, including explosives and hand-grenades. Pakistani civilians of this sector received training in guerilla tactics at the guerilla warfare school at Darman, near Sialkot. They were taught to use explosives, modern signal equipment and to disrupt communications. A Pakistani major and a platoon of soldiers in Maharajke acted as observation posts for their artillery and air force for two days after the village had fallen to Indian troops. Equipped with a modern wireless set, the major was able to give the precise locations of our troop concentrations and supply columns, and also direct air fire on our ground troops. The Major was caught in a bunker the next day. The Pakistani guerillas included surprisingly a large number of women who could handle hand-grenades and light machineguns. An Indian brigade commander, returning to his unit in a jeep, was stopped by two meek-looking women near Maharajke. As he pulled up, one of the women opened fire with a light machinegun. Next day he ordered that the villages be thoroughly searched. About 1,500 saboteurs were captured in the whole sector. In a prisoner-of-war camp, an old woman admitted that she had thrown a hand-grenade at a jeep carrying an officer and some *jawans* in Maharajke-Phillaurah sector.

These bunkers could not have sprung up overnight. They had been constructed many months earlier. Their construction was too strong and well stabilized to betray any hurried work. Pakistanis could have staged street-to-street or even house-to-house fighting in the most unsuspected places. One of the 40 Pakistani villagers, who had chosen to stay in Sabz-e-Pir about ten miles inside Pakistan territory, a middle-aged, poor farmer, confirmed that "Ayub Khan had been making these preparations ever since he was elected President". Except for these 40 persons including a few women and children the entire population of four neighbouring villages had run away to places of safety.¹¹

It may be pointed out that Indian troops' breakthrough into the suburbs of Sialkot cantonment was halted by the rearguard action of these civilians. They acted as the forward line of their retreating forces and harassed our rear in Charwa, Maharajke, Phillaurah and Chawinda, the main theatres of fierce warfare in Sialkot sector. In some villages mines had been laid¹²

INFILTRATORS WERE PAKISTANI SOLDIERS

Pakistan had made full preparations for infiltration as well as regular invasion.¹⁰ A Pakistani top secret document, a letter signed by Major-General Akhtar Hussain Malik, General Officer Commanding Twelfth Pakistan Infantry Division, and addressed to Brigadier Fazle Rahim, was captured by our forces during the operations. It was dated August 29, 1965.¹¹ General Malik was in recent years in charge of Pakistani forces manning the ceasefire line and of the infiltration operation. Fazle Rahim was one of several Brigadiers who organised the operations of the infiltrators.

The main features of this long letter were :

(i) The Pakistan Army commanders organised infiltration of armed personnel into Kashmir.

(ii) The infiltrators consisted of elements from regular Pakistani battalions as well as 'Azad Kashmir' battalions and other elements.

(iii) The tactics prescribed were, concentration at pre-selected targets to carry out raids, inflict maximum casualties, cause the greatest damage and then disperse in different directions.

(iv) In earlier stages the infiltrators were to enter the State of Jammu and Kashmir in civilian dress and later on in uniform.

(v) Certain routes to be followed by the infiltrators were laid down.

(vi) Evocative names like Khalji were prescribed for forces taking part in the later waves of infiltration.

(vii) Code names provided showed that infiltrators had a link through intermediary formations right up to the Murree sub-area and the headquarters of the Twelfth Division of the Pakistan Army.

(viii) The parties were to be self-sufficient in food¹², etc. for two weeks. Indian currency was provided.

The Government of India came in possession of a wide range of documentary evidence which proved that the armed raiders who crossed the ceasefire line and committed acts of sabotage, arson and loot, in Jammu and Kashmir in August and September, 1965, were Pakistani nationals; and they were raised, trained and equipped by the Pakistan Government. These documents exposed the fact of Pakistani aggression. Besides they nailed the Pakistani lies about the "spontaneous upsurge" of the people of Kashmir, and the "great revolution launched by the freedom fighters" in the State.

Among the documents was a secret file of the Pakistani Government in which a regular account was maintained of the money spent

by it over the Nazir Force, one of the companies of raiders drilled and trained by Pakistani army authorities at the Gibraltar Force headquarters. The financing of the Nazir Force, as well as other companies was done through the headquarters of the Murree sub-area of the Pakistan Army. In July 1965 a sum of Rs. 3,390/- was spent on this company. In August, the expenditure amounted to Rs. 3,510/-. Besides, the raiders were paid Rs. 120 to Rs. 150 each per mensem. The captured documents include the acquittance rolls signed by members of the Force for the amounts drawn. Other facts established about the Nazir Force are that it was raised, trained, organised and launched, from Pakistan. The personnel were residents of West Pakistan, drawn from the tahsils of Daska, Shakargarh, Narowal, Pasrur and Sialkot. Among these documents was a receipt, issue and expense voucher of the Pakistan Army. This showed that three brenguns, three light machineguns, 11 rifles, 16 stenguns, and more than 7,000 rounds of ammunition, were issued to the Force. This issue voucher is on the Pakistan Army form and bears the signature of Major Nazir Ahmed Khan, who issued the arms and ammunition. All these facts were corroborated by the captured Pakistani raiders.

CRIMINALS RECRUITED AS RAIDERS

Pakistan recruited criminals as raiders and sent them to Kashmir. Here is a copy of a letter dated July 7, 1965, from Major Nazir Ahmed Khan to the City Magistrate of Lyallpur requesting him to postpone the criminal case against accused Abdul Aziz in national interest till he was available.

“Secret 5 AK ATK Coy.

C/o Postmaster Bhimber (AR)

No. 0555/A

7 July, 65

“To : — The City Magistrate
Lyallpur (W. Pak)

“Subject :— Abduction case against Basharat Ali etc.

- “1. Abdul Aziz s/o Bhola caste Salama village Thakial Teh Narowal Distt :-Sialkot who is entangled in this case is now enrolled by me for a special mission. His date of hearing is 10 Jul, 65.
- “2. In view of the task assigned to him he will not be able to attend your court on due date.

"3. In view of the above, it is requested that the case may kindly be kept pending till I inform you about his availability. I hope you will kindly consider my request keeping the national interest in view.

Major
Offg Comd
G/C (Nazir Ahmed Khan)"

Major Nazir Ahmed Khan who commanded the Nazir Force also addressed letters to the Additional Deputy Commissioner, Sialkot and the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Narowal, requesting them that criminal proceedings against persons involved in cases of theft, and whose names were on the rolls of the police, in their courts should be kept pending in view of national interest. Mohammad Shafi was involved in a theft case in Narowal. The Major also wrote to an advocate of Lahore about an appeal filed by one of his raiders in the Supreme Court in a case of smuggling. In a letter to the Station House Officer, Zafarwal, Major Khan requested the SHO to keep history sheets maintained against Ghulam Nur, Nur Hussain and Siraj Din pending, because the persons had been taken "for a special mission."

There was a letter amongst the captured documents to say that Mohammad Shafi, the criminal involved in a theft case, and for the stay of proceeding against whom Major Nazir Ahmed Khan had earlier made a request to the court, subsequently deserted. This led Major Khan to write a further letter to the court informing it of the desertion and requesting that the processes of law against him for his crime of theft should again be activated.

In another letter to the Superintendent of Police, Sialkot, Major Khan intimated the desertion of Mohammad Shafi who had been "given some training and he also knows the mission to some extent". The letter said: "On 12-7-1965, he disappeared from here and never came back. I am afraid he may not leak out the mission and if he does so the whole thing will go wrong and will have adverse effect.

"In view of the above please direct SHO Zafarwal to arrest Mohammad Shafi s/o Bagh Ali and keep him under custody till I inform you next. Please accord priority to my request and inform SHO Zafarwal on telephone for necessary action."

Eight forces of infiltrators were organised. Each force consisted of six companies. One company was composed of 110 men. Every

force was named after a famous Muslim crusader or conqueror as an inspiration to the raiders. Their names were Tariq, Qasim, Khalid, Nasrat, Ghāznavi, Salah-ud-din, Khalji and Babar. Each company was commanded by a regular Pakistan Army officer of the rank of Major. Platoons were under command of either junior commissioned officers or senior non-commissioned officers. They were composed of both regular and irregular troops, including men from 19 Para Baluch of the Special Service Group of the regular Pakistan Army, specially trained in guerilla warfare by Chinese instructors. The Force Commander of each company was given a wireless set to keep himself in direct communication with the Pakistani commanders at the base of operations. Messages were to be conveyed in code at fixed hours over given frequencies. The controlling orders were to be sent from Pakistan, and then transmitted from various centres to the infiltrators. Though Pakistan loudly and vigorously denied its complicity in the attack by infiltrators, yet it acted as their spokesman. A special radio station was set up to guide and help the raiders at Khari six miles from Muzaffarabad in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. It was styled *Sada-e-Kashmir* (Voice of Kashmir).

RAIDERS

The Pakistani infiltrators captured by security forces were found carrying forged registration cards of the type issued by the civil authorities in Jammu and Kashmir to the local residents of the State in order to escape detection. The infiltrators were dressed in green *shalwar* and *kurta*, balaclava caps, jerseys, raincoats and jungle boots. In most cases their Pakistan Army identification documents were taken away from them before they crossed the ceasefire line.

The arms and ammunition were hidden in their baggy clothes or at times deposited at fixed points in the jungles from where they could be collected afterwards. Many dumps were discovered later on by the Indian security forces. The company commanders were given Rs. 9,000 each for local purchases and for bribes. They also had gift articles like watches, transistors, fountain pens, etc. etc.

They carried a variety of weapons and ammunition supplied by Pakistan Government. These included rifles, pistols, explosives, shot-guns, flares, compasses, binoculars, very lights, wire-cutters, signal equipment, stenguns, light machineguns, 3" and 2" mortar bombs, hand-grenades, 83 mm rocket launchers, anti-personnel mines and so on. Each company was supplied with 200 pounds of plastic explosives and about 100 pounds of detonators and blindside.

The arms and ammunition recovered from infiltrators showed that they were of the same type as used by Pakistan Army. Majority of them bore the marking "POF"—Pakistan Ordnance Factory. In some cases the markings were erased, while some of them had no markings at all. The captured raiders said the unmarked weapons and ammunition were specially manufactured for infiltrators in the Pakistan ordnance factories. Some of the weapons were of foreign make. Almost the entire lot of deadly weapons and explosives was manufactured in the United States.

The raiders were supplied with cooked food which could last for five days, such as *puris*, *pulao* and *halwa* and five days' dry rations and medicines. The raiders carried a load of printed literature in Urdu exhorting the people of Kashmir to rise in revolt and fight a holy war like the crusaders of days gone by against the *kafirs*. The posters wanted the Kashmiris to believe that this was a "war of liberation", launched by the revolutionary council in the Valley. They proclaimed that "from today all alleged treaties and agreements between the Imperialist Government of India and Kashmir stand annulled and are no longer binding on us". It was stated that from that day "the National Government of Jammu and Kashmir formed by the Revolutionary Council is the sole lawful authority in our land". The posters declared Sheikh Abdullah and Mirza Afzal Beg as "our great leaders... languishing in Indian prison." A strong appeal was made to "all sane and freedom-loving elements in India and particularly the brave Sikhs, the South Indians and the Rajputs, who have always given us moral support to lend us active assistance".¹⁴

The task assigned to infiltrators was: destruction of bridges, disruption of lines of communication, raiding of Indian Army convoys, headquarters, supply dumps, police stations, important installations, inflicting casualties on troops, civilian officials and eminent persons in authority.

The infiltrators were organised in gangs of about fifty each. They had to regroup themselves in the State later on. They were to enter the State at several points simultaneously in three waves. Approximately 5,000 men were to infiltrate in the first week of August, 1965. An equal number of men was held in readiness along the ceasefire line to move in at the first opportunity in support of the first wave. The rest were kept in strategic reserve. The regular Pakistan Army deployed along the ceasefire line was to provide in case of need artillery cover to the guerilla fighters by keeping up a relentless pressure of firing on the Indian posts,

The raiders were to enter through routes generally left unguarded by police and Indian security forces. Wherever the entry routes were well-guarded, the infiltrators were to enter the State in the guise of folk-dancers (*Bazigars*). They would perform folk dances on roadsides, begging money from spectators, and then quietly mix up with the civil population. In some cases they were accompanied by a few old women and several young and pretty girls in dirty-torn-out clothes. The old women were to pose as mothers and would offer the girls to men on operational duties. Handsome soldiers disguised themselves as women. "In the Badgam area, the fleeing infiltrators had left behind large quantities of false hair of women and saris."¹⁷

They were instructed to go deeper into Jammu and Kashmir and to carry out sabotage. They would announce the formation of a revolutionary council, paralyse civil administration and frustrate the efforts of Indian army to restore order in the State. They were to lurk in the day in woods and out of way places and get busy in subversion at night. They were to make friends with the people by offering bribes in cash and costly articles, holding out hopes of reward later on, and appealing to them in the name of religion. In case of failure, rapine, arson and murder were to be resorted to. The infiltrators were assured that in case of their success, Pakistani paratroopers would be dropped into the Valley. The Pakistani action was carefully timed to utilise the politically agitated atmosphere of a *hartal* which was ordered by the Plebiscite Front on August 9, 1965, the anniversary of Sheikh Abdullah's arrest in 1953. It appears that Sheikh Abdullah was a party to the Pakistani plan of Indian invasion. O. P. Modi, President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Integration Front on October 18, 1965, stated : "It was beyond doubt now that Sheikh Abdullah, while out of India, had hatched a conspiracy with Mr. Chou En-lai and Field Marshal Ayub for armed infiltration into Kashmir. Before the Sheikh left for Haj, he had threatened in public speeches to resort to a violent agitation if his demand was not conceded."

Pakistan's objective was to sneak the infiltrators and make them commit acts of subversion and sabotage, and show to the world that there was a revolt in Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan had selected for infiltration into Kashmir certain points on the ceasefire line where Indian forces had not established forward posts. These included Keran, Tithwal, and the Uri-Poonch bulge. Major infiltration took place at these places. Six companies of Mujahid force entered from Chand Tekri,

DEATH BOTH WAYS

The rear of the infiltrators was brought up by Pathans of the Frontier Corps. The entire bulge area was covered by regular "Azad Kashmir" troop formations and the Pakistan army. It had been made clear to the infiltrators that any attempt by them at withdrawing from the Valley would be met with mass shooting. Left with no alternative, the mercenary commandos had to penetrate deeper and deeper to get killed in our territory or get butchered in case they escaped to their side of the ceasefire line under pressure from our security forces. One company of Pathans was stationed at Nausbar-Mirpur bridge to ensure that the Pakistan army's commands were carried out to the letter.

In a broadcast on August 1, 1965, Ayub said that Pakistan could not accept India's "No War" pact unless India took "concrete and positive steps for a settlement of our outstanding disputes."¹²

DIVERSION TOWARDS RAJASTHAN

To divert the attention of the Government of India from Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan simultaneously undertook warlike preparations on other boundaries between India and Pakistan. In May 1965 alone when the preparations for a *jehad* in Kashmir were in full swing, Pakistan violated 646-mile-long border between Rajasthan and West Pakistan at several points. In his statement in the Lok Sabha on May 11, 1965, referring to the Rajasthan border, the Defence Minister, Y. B. Chavan, told the House that the Pakistani aircraft violated air space on May 2, 3 and 8. On May 2 it flew to the north-east over Gadra Road and penetrated six to seven miles inside Indian territory. Again on May 3, Pakistani aircraft appeared over Gadra Road and went to north-west. The penetration was to the same extent. On May 8, a Pakistani air force plane entered as many as 43 nautical miles into air space at Utarbai in Rajasthan.

On May 10, in a 90-minute encounter an Indian police party chased out Pakistani raiders who had intruded into Micharau village 10 miles inside Indian district of Barmer. On May 19 Pakistani army was found busy in strengthening its supply lines of drinking water for its forces in the desert belt across Rajasthan border. They further improved in June and July their positions all along the Rajasthan-West Pakistan border stretching from Hindumalkot in Ganganagar district, on the trijunction of Rajasthan, Panjab and West Pakistan, to Brahmanon-ki-Dani in Barmer.¹³

(2)

Infiltration

The infiltrators crossed the ceasefire line stealthily in twos and threes, and met at fixed places inside Kashmir to arrange themselves into larger parties. They operated in a radius of 20 to 25 miles from their centre of activity in groups of 50 to 100. About 3,000 of them entered the Valley through the ceasefire line. The others consisting of nearly 2,000 combatants "went on a rampage of the Jammu area".²² Infiltration²³ was mainly directed towards three centres—Srinagar, Poonch and Cbhamb.

A Pakistani army officer who was arrested by Indian security forces said that Pakistan authorities had given him and his men to understand that they would be welcomed by people in Kashmir. When they infiltrated into Kashmir, they did not get any support from the local people. The fact was the people of Kashmir had learnt through their political experience ranging over a period of over thirty years since the agitation started in early thirties that a State could not be established solely on the basis of religion. It were the homogeneity of interests, economic, social and cultural, that united a people together whether they were Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians. This was clear even to the illiterate persons living far away from towns and cities in the lap of nature, and they acted accordingly.

The ceasefire line giving access to the Valley passes through Gurais, Natwal, Keran, Tithwal, Qazinag, Uri to Dhanvas, south of the Pir Panjal range. The eight forces into which the infiltrators were organised followed different routes. (1) The Tariq Force entered Kashmir from the north-east. It was raised in Skardu, and mainly consisted of Karakorum Scouts and Baluchis. Their chief targets were the bridges on the Srinagar-Leh road. (2) the Khalji Force penetrated into the Valley from Kel via Tsuntwar nullah from the north-west to Gurais. (3) The Khalid Force intruded into Indian side of Kashmir in two groups. One took the Pharkian Gali route in the north-west, and the other came via Salubatha-Kalaruch. Some of these raiders came to Kupwara and Trehgam. (4) The Nasrat Force came from Tithwal-Tangdhar sector. (5) The Qasim force marched through Kanzalwan-Bandipur. (6) The Salah-ud-din Force consisted of six companies. Their base camp was located at Chand Tekri, 10 miles south of Hapir. They sneaked into the Valley from south-west, and reached Gogaldar and Gadibal, south-east of Gulmarg.



No. 3: Jammu and Kashmir

They set up an observation post at Gadibal, and lay encamped in the Dhanvas forest area. Some of them infiltrated into areas such as Biru Raithan, Khag and Gangabug to the south-west of Srinagar. A number of them made good their escape through Tutmari Gali, Chhota Qazinzg and Tilel Valley. (7) The Ghaznavi Force entered from Kotli into Poonch-Mendhar-Rajouri region. (8) The theatre of operations of the Bahar Force was Jhangar-Naushahra-Chhamb sector.

GUJAR, THE FIRST INFORMERS

The earliest trace of Pakistani infiltrators in Kashmir was made by a Gujar²² (milkman) of Dhabrot in Mendhar sector. On the morning of August 3, 1965, he saw a band of Pakistani raiders crossing the Chor Panjal Pass and immediately conveyed this information to the nearest civil authorities. The report was passed on to the Indian security forces²³. Captain Chander Narain Singh of Garhwal Rifles was entrusted with the duty of locating and punishing the enemy. His patrol searched the whole hilly area. When the sun had set and the visibility was low, the patrol was fired upon from the top of a neighbouring hill by light machineguns and mortars. The Captain led his patrol over the hill under heavy fire, and took up position at a distance of 50 yards. There he found that the enemy strength was three times greater than his own. Without caring for his own safety, the Captain led the attack. When he was ten yards distant from the Pakistani post, he was mortally struck by machinegun fire. The post was captured, several Pakistanis were killed and wounded and a good deal of material fell into our hands. After this the Captain breathed his last. He was awarded Maha Vir Chakra posthumous.

The second man to report about the presence of Pakistani raiders in Kashmir was another Gujar, the thirty-year-old Muhammad Din Jagal of Darukasi village, 3 miles above Gulmarg. On the morning of August 4, 1965, he was grazing cattle and sheep in the Dhanvas meadow across the ridge above Gulmarg. Two raiders clad in green shirts and trousers accosted him saying: "We have some work for you and you will be paid". He was taken to a place about six miles from his village and eight miles from Gulmarg. There he found over 1,000 strangers camping in a jungle clearance spread over a mile. They had large quantities of arms, ammunition and wireless sets. They told him that they had come from Pakistan to liberate their Kashmiri brethren. They asked him to direct them to Gulmarg. He was required to give information about military

ration depots. They wanted him to arrange for porters and give them information about transport facilities at Tangmarg and other places. The raiders offered to pay Rs. 400 to each guide for leading them to Badgam, Baramula and Srinagar, and Rs. 100 to those giving useful information. He was detained till evening when he was let off to fetch cigarettes and arrange for porters and ponies. He was given Rs. 10 in Indian currency. He reached Tangmarg on the morning of August 5. He informed constable Abdullah Hatta about the presence of the raiders. The constable immediately telephoned the authorities in Srinagar. After a few hours senior police officers and the Home Minister reached Tangmarg. Military reinforcements followed.¹⁴

The third man to report the presence of the raiders was Wazir Muhammad. On August 5, 1965, more than one hundred raiders armed with machineguns, mortars, rifles and pistols had taken shelter in a forest near Galothi situated between Mendhar and Rajauri, about 50 miles farther south of Gulmarg. Wazir Muhammad was returning to his village from fields in the evening. He saw some armed strangers moving about surreptitiously. When he questioned them, they tried to bribe him for keeping quiet. Wazir Muhammad assured them of his connivance, but quietly hurried to the nearest army unit to pass on the information. An army patrol was immediately sent. Wazir Muhammad guided it to the hide-out of the raiders. When the patrol reached there, the sun had set. The raiders were concealed behind rocks, trees and bushes. As the patrol advanced, two enemy machineguns opened fire. The patrol fired back. The raiders brought in more machineguns and mortars. The *jawans* rushed at the enemy. The raiders fired for a while and then fled helter-skelter. They left behind large quantities of arms, ammunition, equipment and rations. At least ten of them were killed.

There are numerous other cases in which inhabitants of Jammu and Kashmir showed no concern to the temptation and allurements of the infiltrators. A number of infiltrators were found hiding in the low hills near Jogivan village. A few villagers marched towards them. The raiders took to their heels. Among the villagers was a young man of twenty. He pursued them far ahead of other villagers. He crawled to the rear of the hiding infiltrators. He beckoned his comrades. All the villagers with a yell fell upon the intruders and overpowered them.¹⁵ On 12 August, Dina Nath of Kharab village in the Chhamb sector saw an armed Pakistani guerilla sniping from a hilltop at an Indian patrol party which was trying to capture him. Unarmed and undaunted and

purely of his own free will, Dina Nath quietly climbed up on the raider's rear, overpowered him, snatched away his rifle, and handed him over to the security forces. Nandlal and two others of Budhwal village in the Chhamb sector helped the security forces in capturing two armed guerillas. At another place, a group of unarmed villagers led by Abdul Aziz, strangled a guerilla to death.²⁸

SRINAGAR

In 1947 Pakistani raiders had come no closer than eight miles to Srinagar. In 1965 they not only reached the capital but spread over a large part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This time the capture of the city was well-planned. A large number of infiltrators encamped in the foothills of the Pir Panjal range and planned to enter Srinagar surreptitiously on August 8. They wanted to be in the city in time to join the people in the protest against Sheikh Abdullah's detention. Their plan was to seize all the vehicles passing that way. They had brought trained drivers with them to drive them to Srinagar. The raiders were dressed as pilgrims purportedly on their way to Srinagar for the Urs of Hazrat Pir Dastgir which fell on 8 August. One batch of heavily armed infiltrators was to capture the radio station, another the airfield, the third the State Secretariate, the fourth was to raid the police lines, the fifth was assigned the task of disturbing communal harmony and inciting people to violence by shooting a few persons, while a sixth was to murder the governor, ministers and some high officials. The moment that had happened a two-minute announcement was to be made from the radio station that a revolution had taken place in Kashmir. This was to be the signal for Pakistan Air Force which was waiting to drop thousands of troops in the State. Pakistan Radio had been working up the idea that on August 9, the day on which 12 years ago Sheikh Abdullah was arrested, there would be a revolt in Srinagar and other parts of Kashmir. The ghost radio station of "Voice of Kashmir" made announcements on the programme of work which had been assigned to the infiltrators. This radio said that posters had been pasted in the entire city of Srinagar. But there was no poster at all as the infiltrators had been caught both on the way and in the suburbs of the city, and their posters confiscated. Others had kept the bundles in places of hiding in jungles and mountains. Again the radio stated that Jammu-Srinagar road had been cut by infiltrators, but no such thing had happened. There is no doubt that the communication system in Jammu and Kashmir was the main target

of the Pakistani infiltrators. They failed in all their sabotage attempts except in the case of a suspension bridge which was partially damaged by them. They cut the steel ropes of the bridge at one end. The sabotage was quickly detected and the bridge repaired. The road remained open and traffic moved as usual throughout the whole period of infiltration.

AIRPORT

About 200 Pakistani infiltrators attacked the airport at Srinagar on the evening of August 8, 1965. An army officer with only 20 soldiers was guarding it. The sudden attack by such an overwhelming body was heroically faced by the officer. He engaged the raiders in a scuffle, while a servant asked for military help on the phone. The gallant band held the enemy at bay until the reinforcements arrived ; but just at this moment the brave officer was shot dead. This failure caused great disappointment to the Pakistanis, yet they were determined to use all their energy and resources on the anniversary day of Sheikh Abdullah's arrest.

GANGABUG

Another body of infiltrators appeared in the night at Gangabug, a predominantly Muslim area, 4 miles from Srinagar on Srinagar-Badgam road. In the afternoon of 9 August some Muslim villagers of Gangabug rushed to a policeman on duty at Rambagh bridge. The bridge is about a mile from the village on the main road linking Srinagar with the airport. They reported that about 75 strangers wearing Kashmiri *choghas* had entered the village in the early hours of the morning and were hiding in a mosque. The policeman directed the informers to the headquarters of Kashmir Armed Police. In a few minutes a small police party headed by Amanullah Khan, deputy superintendent of police, went to oppose them. He was immediately surrounded by the raiders who threatened to shoot him if his men tried to free him. The 23-year-old constable Muhammad Bashir and inspector O.N. Dhar were shot dead. Amanullah was disarmed and his hands were tied. When reinforcements arrived, the saboteurs fled into the fields at the rear of the village after setting about one hundred houses on fire. Amanullah was forced to act as their guide. The raiders avoided big villages, and stayed on the outskirts of small villages in the day. On the night of 14-15 August there was an encounter between the raiders and Indian security forces in Yusmarg area. When the raiders ran for shelter, Amanullah hid himself in a field. He then escaped to a nearby village.

BAMINA BRIDGE

Having failed to enter Srinagar via Gangabug, on the evening of 9 August, another batch of about 150 Pakistani infiltrators made a surprise attack at Bamina bridge over the flood channel 3 miles west of Srinagar. A Hindu havildar and two Muslim sepoy were posted to guard the bridge. They were armed with 303 rifles. The saboteurs had light machineguns, stenguns, smoke bombs, hand-grenades and wireless sets. The havildar was on duty while the sepoy had gone to the nearby police post. Stealthily some raiders wrapped in blankets under cover of twilight approached one end of the bridge and tried to set it on fire. The havildar saw them and shouted "halt." The men ran away. Later they came with more men and arms. The havildar kept them at bay with rifle firing. Meanwhile the two sepoy joined him and informed the headquarters. The number of raiders steadily increased. The havildar was shot dead. One of the sepoy, named Sadiq Muhammad, was hit by a bullet. He cried, "*Hal Allah.*" One of the raiders came to him and asked him his name. He then shouted, "A Muslim opposing Pakistan". Others yelled : "*Is harami ko zibah karo*" (Cut this faithless to pieces). Sadiq Muhammad was instantaneously bayoneted in cold blood. The other sepoy continued fighting until a police force arrived for help. He too succumbed to his injuries in a pool of blood at the head of the bridge. The police fought gallantly against the superior arms and manpower. Fourteen policemen lost their lives—seven Muslims, four Hindus and three Sikhs. One end of the bridge was blown up. The Pakistanis removed gold rings, wrist watches and cash from the bodies of policemen. The Pakistanis fled when reinforcements reached the scene. The battle of Bamina showed how ruthless and savage the raiders had become for lack of popular support in their aggressive designs.

THE TWO SIKH CONVERTS

In 1947 when Muzaffarabad was captured by Pakistan, the entire non-Muslim population had been forcibly converted to Islam. In a group of Pakistani infiltrators were two Sikh converts. They had been assigned the task of blowing up the residences of the Governor and the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir in Srinagar. On reaching Srinagar the group got busy in sabotage. The two Sikh converts found perfect peace prevailing in the city. They saw no communal riots, and no anti-Government rebellion. At the eleventh hour they awoke to a sense of patriotism for India. They surrendered themselves to Indian security forces, and disclosed their secret plans."

PARIMPORA

Another batch of Pakistanis attempted on the evening of 9 August to sneak into Srinagar by crossing the Parimpora bridge over the river Jhelum, 3 miles from the city linking Srinagar with Baramula. They hid themselves in fields, under trees and behind embankment. Then they tried to move in twos and threes towards the bridge. They were soon detected. A night-long battle ensued in knee-deep muddy paddy fields, groves of willows and poplars, flood channels and embankments, all ideally suited for guerilla activity. It finally sealed their fate and they fled to the neighbouring mountains and jungles. The crucial day on which so much had been pinned by Pakistan had ended in a flop.

YOUTH RALLIES

On August 9, 1965, a youth rally was held at Srinagar. The rally adopted a resolution condemning Pakistani infiltration, and assuring the Government that the youth of the State would not be found "wanting in courage, determination and the spirit of sacrifice whenever and wherever their services are required." Youth rallies were held on this day at several other places also. The students and staff of 15 educational institutions of the Muslim majority Doda district, claimed by the Plebiscite Front as its stronghold, in a joint resolution condemned the Pakistani aggression and pledged wholehearted support to the security forces in tracing out and liquidating the infiltrators.

SKTRUISIES

Thereafter the infiltrators spread out in three suburbs of Srinagar—Batwara, Batamalu and Chhatabal. They built a stockpile of arms and ammunition in these places. The infiltrators mainly concentrated into mosques. They tried to bribe the people with transistors, watches and Indian currency. On the night of 10-11 August intermittent firing was exchanged with the intruders in the vicinity of Tattoo grounds just outside Srinagar on the Baramula road, at Batamalu. The infiltrators again commenced firing near the Tattoo ground in a bid to break through the police cordon around them. The exchange of fire with the Kashmir police started at 2 p. m. on 13 August and lasted for three hours and a half. After a vigorous search of Chhatabal which is 2 miles away lasting nearly 24 hours, the army authorities discovered a big cache of arms and ammunition in a mosque. On August 13, a Pakistani infiltrator wearing a *burqa* (veil) mixed up with

a party of women on the outskirts of the city. The women became suspicious of his movements. He was apprehended by the police.

NORMAL LIFE IN SRINAGAR

In spite of all this normal life prevailed everywhere in the State capital. A political correspondent of the *Statesman* left Delhi on the morning of August 13, 1965 for Srinagar by plane. There were at least 15 foreign tourists on board. After crossing Banihal the plane flew low over the lush green Kashmir Valley. The sun-drenched villages presented a picture of beauty and tranquillity. A portly American matron commented : "What, no rockets; not even smoke"! Later in the evening she exclaimed : "Jee, what a remarkable people. So much is happening and no panic !"

The *Statesman* reporter in his despatch dated August 13 observed : "By far the most remarkable thing noticed by this reporter since his arrival here this morning is the air of calm in the city and the courage and fortitude with which the people have responded to the Pakistani outrage. Shops, restaurants, and bars are open, men and women go about their business, children go to school and play in the streets, and although troops and armed police are around, and the people do discuss the last night's firing in their vicinity or the clash in some part of the State, there is not the slightest trace of panic or even tension."

He added : "Anger in Srinagar is, therefore, concentrated largely on Pakistan, and next only to Pakistan, it is directed against the U.N., and its observers for their dismal failure to prevent or undo the blatant violation of the cease-fire agreement by Pakistan." The displeasure of the people in the city against New Delhi was also noticed by him : "It is the duty of this reporter also to record the great disappointment among responsible people here with New Delhi. The disappointment has nothing to do with the conduct of the operations against the raiders. It is generally believed that these are being conducted with skill and efficiency, and are a source of reassurance to the population. But the feeling of disappointment arises from the fact that such a large scale infiltration should have been allowed in the first place. ... It is said by many people that one reason why such huge infiltration became possible was that India stuck to her agreements about keeping only a minimum number of troops in the Kashmir Valley at any time, when Pakistan was openly preparing for its current operations."²⁰

Mrs. Indira Gandhi remarked : "By sheer coincidence, I happened to be in Srinagar from the 8th to the 13th (August 1965). Countless tourists, lately joined by foreign correspondents, have attested to the fact that Srinagar has seldom been so calm. Schools, colleges and shops are humming with life,—no signs of disturbance, not a single demonstration, not a solitary slogan."²⁰

BATAMALU

Batamalu is a densely populated Muslim *mohalla* in Srinagar 3 miles from the Amira Kadal bridge, and at a stone's throw from Bamina and the Tattoo grounds. On the evening of 14 August some infiltrators appeared at Batamalu. Its residents declined to offer them any food and shelter. Being incensed at their non-cooperation, they cruelly set the whole area on fire with gasoline and other incendiary material. The fire began at about seven in the evening. Civil and military fire engines fought the blaze. The devastating fire destroyed 300 houses rendering 8,000 persons homeless. Next day the police combed the area. Four armed Pakistanis including an officer were captured in Tengapora and Darawan villages a little away from Batamalu. Some incendiary material was recovered from them. They confessed having indulged in arson the previous night, in accordance with "instructions of Pakistani rulers."²¹

Yet Radio Pakistan in its broadcast on August 15, 1965 announced with great pride and pleasure that Batamalu fire had been caused by "freedom fighters" (Pakistani raiders) and the fire "continued for seven hours." The "Azad Kashmir Radio" also repeated the same story in its Kashmiri programme at 7.20 p.m. on August 15. In his first of the month broadcast on September 1, 1965, President Ayub blamed India and not Pakistani infiltrators for the burning of Batamalu. The President said that "the cruel burning of Batamalu in Srinagar with its Muslim inhabitants will scar the conscience of the world."²²

OTHER INCIDENTS

Ten infiltrators disguised as Muslim women in *burqas* were arrested in the city and its suburbs on the night of 15-16 August. On 16 August a number of minor encounters took place with them at the foothills in the course of which a number of infiltrators was killed. Some were captured, others surrendered, and a few managed to escape. On the night of August 19-20 the raiders attacked a police post in Srinagar and then fled away. On the night of 27-28 August a

group of about 30 armed raiders made a surprise attack on sentries guarding a police station south-west of Srinagar. The raiders seriously wounded constable Ali Muhammad and snatched his rifle. Another constable Gulzar Mir, who was sleeping nearby, was brutally murdered. On receiving the report, Indian security forces rushed to the spot and challenged the raiders who made good their escape in the dark.

On the night of 30-31 August some villagers in the south-west of Srinagar saw a couple of raiders in hiding. They informed the police. They were tracked down and two of them were seized. Their names were Kala Khan and Lal Din. They held the rank of Naik in the regular Pakistani Army. They belonged to the raiders' group that had been driven back from the vicinity of Srinagar three weeks previously. They disclosed that their objective was to destroy the Srinagar Radio Station and other vital installations in and around Srinagar.²²

Lt. General R. H. Nimmo of Australia, Chief of the UN observer team in Kashmir, was invited by the UN Secretary General, U. Thant for immediate discussions on Kashmir. The General was stranded in Srinagar following the destruction of his plane on the ground in a Pakistani air attack on September 8, 1965. General Nimmo's plane was a Caribou provided for the group by the Canadian Government.

The raiders destroyed fruit orchards in the Kashmir Valley, and no fruit was exported that year.²³

A number of Pakistani bombers accompanied by fighters raided Srinagar at 6.30 p.m. on 13 September. The planes dropped bombs indiscriminately. The Pakistani Sabre jets again raided Srinagar airfield on the afternoon of 14 September. Anti-aircraft guns went into action immediately and drove away the enemy aircraft. They dropped 12 rocket bombs.

KHUNMUNH

A company of Indian army was sent to clear Pakistani armed raiders who had infiltrated through the hilly terrain between Khunmunh and Dachigam on the eastern outskirts of Srinagar. They had to move through a thick jungle and to cross a high mountain pass on the way. The operation was to be conducted with speed as the enemy had planned to destroy certain military installations located at Srinagar Cantonment. After crossing the pass, Indian troops came under heavy

fire from the right flank. The company commander was wounded in the firing. The leading platoon commander, a young subaltern, rushed to the rescue of his company commander, firing his stengun under a volley of enemy bullets. He was picked up and brought to a place of safety. The enemy fire came from a hut. The platoon commander picked up a light machinegun, moved forward, and brought down heavy fire on the enemy. He was hit thrice by enemy bullets. Unmindful of his injuries, he continued firing and silenced the enemy fire. He then led the troops, while being carried on a stretcher. The enemy was defeated and the area cleared. But the brave soldier succumbed to his injuries.³⁴

On the 22-23 August night some infiltrators entered Khunmunh village 10 miles away from Srinagar. They demanded food and shelter from the people. On their refusal they set fire to the village and destroyed about 100 houses. Five captured raiders confessed having destroyed the village by fire because some villagers had informed the Indian security authorities regarding their movements. On 26 August the security forces after an engagement with infiltrators seized seven 83 mm rockets, nearly 6,000 rounds of 303 and 19 mm ammunition. In another village the fleeing raiders being pursued by Indian troops set fire to 40 houses on 27 August. One raider was killed. On 6th September the raiders beat a villager who had declined to get rations for them.

BADGAM

Armed raiders came under cover of darkness to Badgam, 22 miles from Srinagar from thickly green hills overlooking the area interspersed with table lands. Avoiding contact with security forces they prowled about the village, usually at some distance, taking positions for attack and advance. A small group out of the main party stealthily entered a village, making sure that the village was defenceless. They then started shooting to frighten and take villagers by surprise. Raiders, armed mostly with stenguns, tommyguns, carbines and two-inch mortars approached innocent villagers in other places and extorted food and whatever little money they came across. In some cases stray and desperate raiders killed villagers during daylight. One such victim was a village shopkeeper in Badgam who was shot at point blank range because he had declined to part with provisions. His shop was looted. After killing the villagers, raiders looted and made good their escape. In some villages, raiders indulged in regular extortion compelling every villager to part with half a maund of

foodgrains along with Rs. 5 or face death. In cases of non-compliance their houses and other public buildings were destroyed by fire. On 11 August there was an encounter between security forces and raiders near Raithan village in Badgam police station, in which firing was exchanged for about 40 minutes.

A body of Pakistani infiltrators appeared in the Badgam area nine miles from Srinagar. They were challenged by Indian security forces on 12 August. They immediately surrendered with all their arms and ammunition. A couple of other groups of infiltrators roamed about on the outskirts of this place. On 15 August a heavy concentration of raiders was noticed. Another batch of raiders was noticed in the foothills under bushes mostly in groups of 10 and 15. They tried to force out food from poor villagers on 20 August. Having failed to get any shelter or help, they set fire to a number of houses in six villages around Badgam. From other villages in the neighbourhood they obtained rations and other necessities at gun point. Whenever a provision store refused to give them rice and flour, the raiders killed the vendor and looted his shop. They prowled 10 miles beyond Badgam in thick jungles. The flushing-out operation in the Badgam region was started on 13 August. A number of raiders was killed and some were captured. A raider handed over to security forces by villagers was found to have Rs. 8,000 in Indian currency on him.

GHULAM QADIR, THE HERO OF KHAG

Khag is a group of picturesque, extensive, and lonely villages in the foothills in Biru tahsil 22 miles from Srinagar. It is inhabited by simple and plain people whose main profession is agriculture and sheep breeding. They grow paddy, fruit and vegetables, rear cattle and make woollen stuffs. From the common fund saved by them for several years they built a *panchayatghar* and two schools for boys and girls separately. Ghulam Qadir was their headman, and leader in all their social and cultural activities. On August 8, 1965, Ghulam Qadir came to know that a large number of Pakistani raiders was lying encamped at the foothills nearby. He immediately organised the village defence force with the enthusiastic support of the people. At first the raiders tried to win over Ghulam Qadir and his companions by persuasion, religious appeal and various temptations. They offered large sums of money if the villagers would give them food and shelter. All of their efforts failed. The raiders were infuriated, and threatened Ghulam Qadir and others with dire consequences. On the night between 12-13 August the raiders attacked the village. The schools

and the *panchayatghar* were destroyed by fire. They looted the houses, molested women, and tortured menfolk, young and old. The infiltrators left a letter for Ghulam Qadir again asking him to yield to their wishes. They held out the same offers of money, and made appeals in the name of Islam. In case a favourable reply was not received by next morning, they threatened to punish him severely.

No reply came. The raiders were sorely disappointed. They decided to teach Ghulam Qadir and the villagers a lesson. On August 13, they delivered a massive attack on the village with grenades, rockets and automatic weapons. Ghulam Qadir at the head of villagers came out to fight. They were joined by a small detachment of Indian security forces under a junior commissioned officer having 24 years service in the army. The detachment and villagers took up positions behind the boundary wall of the *Panchayatghar*. In the midst of firing the brave JCO led his men to a point much closer to the enemy. In the sanguinary encounter ten infiltrators fell dead and the rest fled away. The brave JCO sustained severe injuries all over his body. When he fell down unconscious, his finger was still on trigger. While fleeing the raiders killed the village Patwari, Mohi-ud-din by name. Ghulam Qadir also died a hero's death. Two of his comrades were seriously wounded. Thus Ghulam Qadir set a noble example for unflinching patriotism. He gladly laid down his life at the altar of nationalism and secularism. He showed that in a democracy it was the duty of every citizen to fight against aggression, though it might be from his coreligionists. The spot where Ghulam Qadir fell is now a place of pilgrimage.

WUYIL

Wuyil bridge lies some 19 miles away from Srinagar on the strategic road to Sonamarg and onwards to Kargil and Leh over the Zoji La Pass. On the night of 16-17 August, 1965 it became a target of the infiltrators. It was guarded by two policemen at each end. Two saboteurs were killed on the spot, while others ran into the jungle. On the night of 17-18 August another small bridge was damaged by them. In the early hours of the morning on August 18, a group of 45 raiders attacked the police party of 14 men guarding the bridge. First one of the raiders approached with a grenade. He was still within 30 yards, when constable Lekh Singh shot him dead on the spot. Pakistanis opened heavy fire, but the police fought gallantly for over two hours and forced the raiders to retreat. Another dead body was found later in the day. The police recovered three light machineguns and some unexploded grenades. In the afternoon the police beat back another

attack by the infiltrators in the same area. This time the raiders left two dead. A party of foreign TV cameramen was present at the spot when the new attack was made. On 22 August the Wuyil bridge was attacked again in broad daylight. Only two policemen were on duty, while others were searching the raiders in the nearby jungle. Some of the raiders engaged the lonely policemen in a skirmish, while others quickly laid mines in an attempt to blast the bridge. The loud firing of guns brought on the scene other policemen. On their approach the raiders took to their heels leaving one dead behind.

A column of Indian army, guarding the Srinagar-Leh Road in this locality, was ambushed by a band of 40 to 50 Pakistanis in the first week of September. They were firing from higher ground and held up the advance of our troops. A rifleman leading the right-hand section crawled up behind the enemy light machinegun position unnoticed. He suddenly jumped and bayoneted the raider behind the gun. He then seized the machinegun and turned it upon the running enemy. Twenty men of the enemy lay dead, one was caught and the rest fled away. A substantial bag of enemy equipment including two light machineguns, three stenguns, two rifles, a large number of sten and light machinegun magazines, hand-grenades and ammunition fell into our possession.²⁴

YUSMARG

The infiltrators extended their activities to Yusmarg, a famous tourist spot, 34 miles from Srinagar. An encounter between them and the security forces took place on 11 August. On the night of 16-17 August about 300 infiltrators attacked the police post at this place. The police took up positions and faced them bravely. Meanwhile reinforcements arrived. The raiders were challenged by Indian security forces. A fierce battle raged for 12 hours. The invaders used light and medium machineguns and 3-inch mortars. Nine bodies of raiders were found at the end of the engagement. Blood marks and traces indicated that a number of dead and injured persons had been dragged away into the jungle. On August 21 another attack was launched on a police post in the Yusmarg area. The security forces returned the fire and the raiders fled into the jungle. The encounter lasted nearly five hours. The bodies of six raiders were picked up after the clash. A light machinegun, a rifle and ammunition were recovered.

ANANTNAG

From Yusmarg the infiltrators had fled away into the jungle towards

Anantnag, 35 miles away. They were detected in the thick forests and deep ravines at a distance of 9 miles from Yusmarg and 26 miles from Anantnag. They numbered from 150 to 300. Police dogs were pressed into service to help security forces in tracking down the raiders. A small batch of them sniped at a village on the outskirts of Anantnag on 24 August. They escaped into the jungle when security forces fired back. While fleeing, the raiders took away one village overseer with them. He was later released.

The morale of the raiders appeared low. They had lost their way to their base, because the security forces had sealed the corridors through which they had entered the Valley. They could not maintain contact among themselves also. They were moving about in stray groups seeking refuge in jungles in a bid to escape. That the infiltrators were a disjointed lot was also proved by a Sada-e-Kashmir Radio call to Mujahids to return to the headquarters of the Revolutionary Council. It was reported that the infiltrators hiding in a jungle near Kupwara had sent an SOS to authorities in Pakistan that they were in a helpless condition as they had been encircled on all sides by Indian forces.

GHULAM QADIR OF ARIEZAL

Ariezal village is situated in Chadoora tahsil 36 miles from Srinagar on the Srinagar—Cherrain Sharif road. The infiltrators entered this village and asked Ghulam Qadir, the prominent person in the village, to guide them and supply them with food. On his refusal Qadir's house was set on fire and property looted. A Philips radio set giving news of Indian victories was smashed by the desperate saboteurs. A copy of the Holy Koran was confined to flames along with some textbooks of Qadir's 12-year old son. Villagers who protested against the sacrilege were beaten up. Ghulam Muhammad, another hero of Ariezal, helped the Indian security forces by tracking down the infiltrators hiding in dense forests. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir gave an initial relief of Rs. 10,000 to Ghulam Qadir to rebuild his house.²⁰

GULMARG

It was on 4 August that the first batch of infiltrators to enter the Kashmir Valley had appeared in the Gulmarg²¹ sector. On the evening of 10 August a vehicle of a patrol party proceeding to Tangmarg was ambushed by the infiltrators near Magam village 14 miles from Srinagar. Twelve of our policemen were killed in the blast of the lorry. On 14 August the security forces located a gang of Pakistanis

and killed twelve of them. On 17 August another group of raiders was given a stiff battle by Indian security forces. The infiltrators had hidden themselves in three villages. After several hours of fighting the raiders beat a retreat leaving behind 15 dead. Our forces completed the most vigorous combing operation on 20 August to the south of Gulmarg. Twenty-one infiltrators including three officers were killed. On 1 September ten infiltrators were killed in an action, and a few boxes of grenades were recovered from them. Large quantities of Pakistani ammunition were recovered on 29 September.

AN ESCAPING PARTY

On 22 August 1965 over twenty Pakistani raiders being demoralised had taken to an escape route to get back to their base camps across the ceasefire line about 30 miles west of Srinagar. Their route was dominated by a hill on which the Indian security forces were posted. When the raiders were noticed from a look-out an army platoon was deployed on the escape route, while another platoon was positioned on a commanding hill feature to provide covering fire. They were engaged in a mortal combat which lasted an hour. The raiders took advantage of a number of boulders in the area which provided adequate cover. A lot of dust enveloped the area and chipped stones kept flying about. Then suddenly the firing from the raiders stopped. A search party was sent down. Three raiders who were crouching behind a boulder were arrested. The others lay dead. Arms and ammunition including light machineguns, grenades and rifles were captured. Among the captured material were some women's clothes, which the raiders had obviously been using to disguise themselves. An army observer who was an eye-witness of this clash termed it "a regular Western movie style battle".

GURAIS

The Pakistani infiltrators penetrated inside Indian territory in Gurais sector in the north-west of the Valley. On 22 August in a clash our security forces killed two of them and wounded five. On 23 August a Pakistani aircraft flew across the ceasefire line in this area. The enemy crossed the ceasefire line from Gilgit side in strength on the night of 27-28 August at a point north of Kanzalwan between Gurais and Keran, one of the gateways from the north to the Kashmir Valley. They tried to establish a strong foothold along the upper reaches of the Kishanganga river which passes through the Tithwal sector before joining up with the Jhelum near Muzaffarabad. The Indian troops

guarding this northern gateway fought back gallantly and drove the enemy away across the ceasefire line. The fleeing Pakistanis left behind 25 dead and carried away another 35 to 40 dead or wounded.

The people of Kupwara, Tralpur, Khomaryar, Chowkibal, Panzgam and Redi in this sector, assured the Government of their vigilance and full co-operation against the Pakistani raiders who had "looted our foodgrains and killed many of our brethren".

KERAN SECTOR

In the Keran region infiltrators entered in a body. On receiving this information Indian security forces set out on a combing operation. In the course of their search they discovered a dump of ammunition on 15 August. It contained stenguns, brenguns, rocket launchers and explosives. They bore Pakistani ordnance factory markings. About 300 Pakistani troops attacked an Indian post across the ceasefire line in the Keran sector on August 16 with mortar and machinegun fire. At another point in the same sector, enemy forces crossed the ceasefire line to establish new positions, but they were driven back after a sharp engagement. A couple of smaller encounters took place on 17 August between the Pakistani intruders and Indian security forces. Infiltrators indulged in arson and loot in villages. They carried away rice and wheat. In a village they killed 12 men for refusing to give them food and shelter and plundered their property. On the night of 19-20 August they fired at a village about 30 miles north-west of Srinagar, killing one man. After lying low for many days the Pakistani armed raiders on the night of 4-5 September opened fire with light machineguns and threw some hand-grenades at a police post 25 miles north-west of Srinagar. On 13 September some raiders were again sighted in this area ; but they immediately went into hiding in the neighbouring thick forests.

NAUGAM

At Naugam village, in the north-west of the Kashmir Valley, some girls from the village had gone to collect firewood in the forest nearby on August 8. They detected some raiders who were in hiding there. They returned to the village and told their parents about them. They informed the authorities. A strong detachment of troops was immediately sent. The raiders fled away leaving behind substantial quantities of arms and ammunition. Next evening the infiltrators suddenly surrounded the village. They entered the village from various directions and commenced looting houses. The terror-stricken

villagers were rounded up. The four village elders who had supplied information to security forces were bayoneted to death. When the villagers protested, 17 more of them were shot dead. They then set fire to the village and carried away the looted property. The burning houses caught the attention of the Indian patrol parties at a distance. They at once rushed to the village and laid an ambush for the raiders just when they were returning loaded with booty. In the encounter 38 raiders were killed and many more injured. They fled away leaving behind the dead and looted property, their arms and ammunition, and a number of severely wounded companions. There was a major encounter at Naugam on August 13, 1965. Indian security forces engaged twice a large band of armed infiltrators. Twenty-six Pakistani raiders were killed, 11 captured and many others injured. A party of four surrendered. Indian forces lost six men and some were injured. The Pakistani raiders later fled into a jungle.

A UN observer was on an investigation visit to the scene of occurrence on August 13. When the officer was about half a mile from Naugam, he heard groaning of a person. A short distance away from the road he found a *jawan* lying in a pool of blood with grenade injuries. The officer spoke a few soothing words to *jawan* and promised to help him on his return journey. No sooner had he gone farther than his jeep was stopped by an ambush fire of Pakistani infiltrators. The officer waved the U. N. flag in a frantic effort to indicate his U. N. identity; but the firing continued. The officer returned without investigating the occurrence. On his way back the U. N. Observer picked up the wounded *jawan* and returned to Baramulla. After an encounter with the raiders on 20 August three wireless sets were found in Baramulla district.

TITHIHAL

There was a severe clash with a fresh batch of raiders who attempted to cross the ceasefire line on August 13. The raiders used medium machineguns. They were repulsed by Indian troops. On 15 August Tithiwal sector was the scene of fierce fighting. Pakistani troops for the first time during these clashes used heavy 80-pounder guns for shelling Indian positions. On the following day they employed 25-pounder medium and light machineguns manned by Pathan mountain troops belonging to Pakistan's Frontier Corps against several Indian pickets in this area. Indian security forces heavily damaged Pakistani military installations. Three Pakistani army barracks were set ablaze.

On 21 August an Indian patrol party was combing the area and had covered more than 15 miles through thick jungle, when its leader

spotted 25 Pakistani infiltrators near the ceasefire line. The soldiers were ordered to chase them. The *jawans* crawled under bushes for over 200 yards and on reaching a vantage-point opened fire on the enemy. The infiltrators took cover behind some rocks. The *jawans* continued to advance under the protective fire of a machinegun. The raiders fled across the ceasefire line leaving behind large quantities of arms, ammunition, rockets and packets of food. Throughout the encounter Pakistani troops had maintained a steady fire on our positions from across the ceasefire line to offer protection to the infiltrators. On August 22, 1965 there was another clash in which six infiltrators were killed. A light machinegun, a rifle and a cache of ammunition were obtained at the scene of action.

URI

On 5 August a clash occurred between an Indian patrol and a Pakistani raiding gang. Another encounter took place the same evening near Buns Danvas village. Interception on the very first day of their entry into Indian territory by Indian patrols took the gang by surprise. They withdrew in disarray under cover of darkness. On the morning of August 14 Pakistani armed forces attempted in vain to cross the ceasefire line at Uri and Tangdhar, 70 miles from Srinagar and fired heavily, obviously, to give cover to the infiltrators. On 19 August there was a heavy engagement. A direct hit on a concentration of Pakistani troops killed 25 raiders and injured many others. On the night of 22-23 August the Pakistani raiders used for the first time 120 mm heavy mortars normally used by a regular army.

POONCH

Pakistani forces in battalion strength launched four attacks in the Poonch area from the Pakistan-held side of the ceasefire line to synchronize with the massive crossings of the infiltrators on 5 August. On the night of 8-9 August Pakistanis fired at a temple near Poonch 7 miles from the ceasefire line. On August 13, a fresh batch of Pakistani infiltrators tried to cross the ceasefire line. They were checked by Indian security forces. The raiders used heavy rocket fire. The enemy killed 12 civilians at Vijayapur on the border on the night of 15-16 August. On 17 August the Pakistani troops fired from across the ceasefire line at a United Nations' observer near the ceasefire line in this sector, when he was on a visit to an Indian post. Even the prominent display of the U. N. flag was ignored. The firing stopped only when Indian troops fired back. During the night of August 21-22, Indian security forces ambushed four raiders while

they were crossing the ceasefire line in darkness. Two soldiers were killed, while the other two fled back across the ceasefire line. On 26 August the infiltrators shelled a village killing an Indian civilian and destroying a house. Indian security forces captured a raider who confessed that he had been engaged in laying mines.

MANDI

Armed Pakistani intruders attacked Mandi, 8 miles from Poonch town on 9 August. The sub-police station of the place was their first target. The station house officer was killed in action. The head constable, Mukandram, engaged the raiders in a hand-to-hand fight. He lynched one of them and snatched his stengun, with which he fired on the infiltrators, and drove them away. By this deed he saved his men, and later enabled them to move to another post, Thana Mandi, and reinforced it.²⁷ The infiltrators advanced farther into the interior, and concentrated around Budil and Gulabgarh in Riasi district. But they were checked from reaching Ramban lying on the highway midway between Jammu and Srinagar on the banks of river Chenab.

MENDHAR

An extensive Pakistani infiltration into Mendhar sector about 140 miles from Jammu took place at a number of points along the ceasefire line. On 5 August an Indian police patrol intercepted nearly 60 raiders, near the ceasefire line at Dhabrot village. Six raiders and three Indians were killed. Three light machineguns, a considerable amount of ammunition and explosives, pamphlets calling on Kashmiris to rise in revolt, a large quantity of cooked food and medicinal supplies were recovered from the site of the clash.

FIRST REGULAR ARMY INTRUSION BY PAKISTAN

On August 22 three companies of the Pakistan Army comprising more than 300 men, armed with artillery, light machineguns and mortars penetrated into the Mendhar sector from the side of Poonch in a bid to dislodge Indian forces from their posts. This was the first open thrust by Pakistan Army into Indian territory across the ceasefire line. The fierce fighting lasted several hours. After this clash the bodies of 14 Pakistanis, including, one non-commissioned officer, were picked up. The retreating troops carried away 35 bodies. It was estimated that 25 Pakistanis were wounded. Thereafter the intruders retreated to their own side of the ceasefire line. On August 23, a Pakistani raider with his rifle was captured. On the night of 25-26, Pakistan Army units made a strong attack on an Indian post near

the ceasefire line. Three infiltrators were captured by security forces. Some arms and ammunition were recovered from them. They said that a group of about 200 infiltrators had escaped into Pakistan-occupied Kashmir a week before for want of ammunition and food.

RAJOURI

While fighting was in progress in the Mendhar sector on 22 August, a group of more than 40 Pakistani infiltrators engaged Indian security forces in the Rajouri area about 7 miles south-east of Mendhar, 125 miles north-west of Jammu. The Pakistanis set fire to a number of houses in a village and looted some property. Twelve raiders were killed. In the following week the infiltrators burnt school buildings, *panchayatghars* and hospitals in this area on a large scale.

NAUSHAHRA

Two Pakistani jet aircraft and two other aircraft flew over Naushahra sector on 23 August. On 27 August two raiders were killed in a minor clash.

KALAKOTE

On August 15 Ghulam Muhammad Dar, Assistant sub-inspector of police in charge police station Kalakote, famous coal-bearing area in Jammu province about 80 miles west of Jammu city, received information about the presence of a large number of infiltrators threatening the mining installations in the area. He acted promptly and faced the raiders gallantly. Some of them were captured. They were found to be Pakistani regulars.²⁹

CHHAMB

Pakistani guerrillas in platoon strength surprised the police station of Palanwala village, in the Chhamb sector, 40 miles from Jammu at midnight of August 11-12, 1965. The attack was launched from two sides within 40 yards of the station with rockets, two-inch mortars and medium and light machineguns. The small number of policemen under guidance of Kundan Lal, in charge of police station, courageously withstood the onslaught. After three hours' continuous firing raiders withdrew.

On August 14, 1965 a massive Pakistani assault by 1,000 men was delivered across ceasefire line and international border in the Chhamb sector. They penetrated one mile into Indian territory. Pakistan moved up regiments of artillery, and shelled the Indian positions continuously for over 48 hours. The object was to relieve pressure on infiltrators who were hard pressed. At one stage hand-to-hand

fighting took place between the opposing troops on the Indian side of the ceasefire line. Indian security forces opened vigorous artillery and 3-inch mortar-fire, and the intruding Pakistani troops were forced to retreat in disorder. Sixty enemy men were killed and many wounded. Two infiltrators in civilian clothes were captured.

The attack on Chhamb was a full scale invasion. An Indian communique described August 14 action as "a severe attack launched in battalion strength". The regular Pakistan army had been formally committed to action. Addressing a Press conference on September 24, 1965, General Chaudhury, Chief of the Army Staff, described this action as a "big attack" in which Pakistan moved up artillery from Sialkot. He said that a U. N. Observer told him that he was appalled at the quantity of artillery being used against the Indian positions along the ceasefire line.

General Chaudhury brought to the notice of General Nimmo that Pakistani regular troops had been brought to the ceasefire line in several sectors. After investigation, Nimmo reported that "Indian positions along the CFL were subject to heavy artillery and mortar fire from the Pakistan side on August 15/16. The attacking forces captured nine Indian positions on August 16/17." These were retaken in the next several days."

CHAKROI

The security forces patrolling the international border detected some movement near Chakroi, 15 miles south-west of Jammu. The patrol commander challenged the raiders who took up positions and opened fire. The security forces fired in reply. The intruders fled across the international border. On a search of the area two bodies were found. Two hand-grenades with Pakistan Ordnance Factory markings, Rs. 40 in Indian currency and three sets of dresses were recovered from them.

(3)

Its Failure

LACK OF ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS

Ayub's "Operation Infiltration" failed. The technique of guerilla infiltration was not new to India. In World War II in 1943 General Wingate organised a guerilla force in Burma against the Japanese. This force did good work. It was the result of four pre-requisites, viz. thorough training, secure communications with base, air superiority, which sustained the force completely by air and co-operation of the local people. Not one of these conditions was fulfilled in Kashmir,

After crossing the ceasefire line, Ayub's guerillas entered into a hostile land. The ceasefire line was sealed by Indian forces, making their return difficult. Pakistani Air Force did not command air superiority. So air communications were cut off. Wireless was the only link left. But the infiltrators could not have rations and arms on wireless. Then the infiltrators entered from weak spots in the long ceasefire line 500 miles long, and they lost contact with the central base camp. Like a golf ball, hit by a novice, the raiders were lost.

Ayub committed many errors. The first was in overestimating the capacity of Pakistani guerillas and their organisation. Secondly, he underestimated the force and capacity of Indian reaction. He believed that India would not strike back in self-defence. Thirdly, and what was most reckless, Pakistan believed that Kashmiri Muslims would give full support to infiltrators. All these assumptions failed, and Pakistan was mauled in its own den.

CO-OPERATION OF THE PEOPLE

While sending eight columns of regulars and irregulars in civilian clothes across the ceasefire line, Pakistan had expected substantial help from the fifth column in the Valley. When the infiltrators entered the Valley and Sada-e-Kashmir Radio spared no pains to arouse the fifth columnists to life, the raiders found no trace of anyone of them. In a couple of cases only the local people gave any help to the raiders and that too under duress. The boatman on the Jhelum who ferried the raiders across the river some miles south of Pampore, had not recovered from the shock when he reported the incident the next day, of his own accord, to the nearest police station. Nowhere did the Kashmiris make any attempt to fraternise with them.

Great credit, therefore, must be given to the people of Kashmir. They met the Pakistani invasion with resolute determination, deep disdain and stiff resistance. Individually and collectively they performed heroic deeds against the infiltrators. They offered to the Government co-operation in full measure often at great risk to their lives, honour and property. They refused to be taken in by the communal propaganda launched in full force by the infiltrators, Pakistan and Azad Kashmir Radios. They turned a deaf ear to the Pakistani appeal for *jihad* in the name of Islam. They hardly missed an opportunity of reporting to the police or the security forces the presence of suspected infiltrators. The local people in some cases had to cover long distances to get in touch with these officials. At times they fought and captured some infiltrators

without any police or military help. Many villagers suffered at the hands of the raiders. They beat the innocent people, shot them dead, looted their property and set fire to their hearths and homes, even to the entire village. The people accepted their sufferings coolly and courageously. Not a single incident of internal disturbance occurred anywhere during the period of operations. Even Doda and Poonch districts claimed as their strongholds by pro-Pakistani and Plebiscite Front elements, remained perfectly quiet. Army communications and telephone lines passed through Muslim-dominated villages in the State. If the Kashmiris had been communal, or anti-Indian, they could have easily snapped lines which lay unprotected for hundreds of miles.

Leaders of Plebiscite Front did not like Pakistan's action in sending guerillas to cause sabotage and subversion in the State. They feared that if Pakistan ever succeeded in grabbing Kashmir, they would be enslaved, in the same way as those Kashmiris who lived across the ceasefire line. This was supported by the pronouncement made by Chief Minister Sadiq in Srinagar on 4 September 1965. He said that the Government had in its possession letters from Maulvi Yusuf Shah, once the head of the theologians of Kashmir. He was deprived of all power by Sheikh Abdullah and his devout band of nationalists. He was forced to leave the Valley. He settled down in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. He wrote to some of his relatives in the Valley. In one of these letters Yusuf Shah had stated that people in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir were living in a "miserable condition." In another and more important letter he advised that it was in the interest of the Kashmiris to remain with India. Maulana Masoodi, the de facto leader of the Action Committee, declared that no shelter should be provided to Pakistani intruders.

A captured officer of Pakistan Army in his tape-recorded statement confessed that persons like him had been held out hopes by Pakistan Army authorities that they would receive warm welcome from the people of Kashmir. He revealed that Pakistani irregulars had not volunteered for infiltration. They were enlisted for civil defence. But they were taken by surprise when they were ordered to cross the ceasefire line and confronted the Indian security forces.⁴⁹

Gujars⁵¹ performed yeoman's service with exemplary courage and loyalty. They gave the first news of the presence of Pakistani infiltrators in Kashmir. Thereafter Pakistan considered the Gujars as its enemies. The raiders carried off the severed heads of several Gujars and took many of them prisoners, besides killing a large number of their cattle and sheep.

At about 4 O'clock in the afternoon on August 27, 1965, some members of Indian security force travelling in a helicopter had to force land at a place lying north-west of Srinagar near the hills on account of engine trouble. A family of Gujars grazing their cattle in pastures on highlands saw them, and five of them rushed to the spot. They saw four occupants who were injured. They removed all the persons to their camp, provided them with food and warm clothing, and nursed them. Next morning they carried the injured on their shoulders to the base of the security forces, 12 miles away. The Gujars said: "We would like you to tell everybody that the Gujars are alert and ready to sacrifice all in the service of our country. We know what the raiders have come for. They come like infidels and deserve a fitting reply from us."

THE GOVERNMENT OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir acted swiftly with energy and determination. The leadership of Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, the Chief Minister of the State, proved of immense value at this juncture. His sincerity, determination, tact and devotion accompanied by clean administration, and his colleagues in the Government deserve appreciation and praise for their conduct. G. M. Sadiq remained very calm and undisturbed during the Pakistani aggression. He felt sure that it would not be possible for the raiders from Pakistan, to subvert the loyalty of the Kashmiris. He openly proclaimed his view that since Pakistan had by its action reduced the ceasefire agreement to a mere scrap of paper, the line drawn under its provisions had ceased to exist. He suggested repudiation of the agreement by India since the U. N. had failed to press Pakistan into observance of the solemnly entered international compact. He pleaded with the Government of India to recover the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

The Kashmir Valley was divided into 12 sub-divisions in order to tighten security arrangements and to comb out Pakistani raiders. Each sub-division was placed under the charge of an assistant commissioner. Similarly, the city of Srinagar was divided into twenty zones with a view to coordinating and implementing effectively action against raiders, hoarders and blackmarketeers.⁴³

THE INDIAN SECURITY FORCES

The Indian security forces had the triple task of protecting the ceasefire line, preventing further infiltration and liquidating the raiders. They combed the length and breadth of the State for the raiders. The raiders were engaged at a number of points by Indian armed forces.

In the first week up to 10 August more than 50 clashes occurred between the two. In the course of these encounters raiders suffered heavy casualties and a number of them had been taken prisoners. At some places they were surprised while camping. The 'catch' included two military officers and four other ranks, including two important civilians. Pakistanis committed 55 ceasefire line violations on August 7 and 8, when Indian patrols intercepted 20 gangs of armed Pakistanis well inside Indian territory.

PAKISTANI LOSSES

On 23 August the Government of India announced that since 5 August Pakistani casualties stood at 843 killed including six officers and the wounded, while 95 were captured. The losses on the Indian side were 89 Army personnel including eight officers and two J. C.s and 29 police personnel killed. Thereafter the raiders in Jammu and Kashmir seem to have received instructions from their authorities in Pakistan to chop off the heads of their officers who were killed in encounters with Indian security forces to avoid identification, as at many places headless bodies were recovered by our troops.

RAIDERS' FLIGHT

Chased relentlessly by the State police and security forces, and even non-cooperated by the local population, the raiders got isolated. Their weapons and their special technical training were of no avail to them. On the very first day of their contact with the people of Kashmir, they became distressed. Instead of guerillas, they became the game. Pakistan's heavy bombardment from across the ceasefire line and loud frantic appeals from the Sada-e-Kashmir Radio to the people of Kashmir to give food and shelter to the infiltrators totally failed in effect. The result was that the infiltrators had to take cover in dense forests and deep ravines, and badly suffered from the bites of poisonous reptiles and insects, wild beasts, and lack of food and shelter. As the net was closing in on them, they took up positions on the higher reaches of mountain ranges. Some people had been kidnapped by the infiltrators. They had either managed to escape or they were sent back to bring food. They reported that a large number of the raiders had no food. They ate anything on which they could lay their hands including wild plants. They generally ate raw maize or unripe fruit. Consequently they suffered from endemic dysentery. As they were constantly on the run for fear of being caught by people or Indian security forces, their feet were sore and swollen, and they could not use boots or shoes. They were completely exhausted on account of fatigue and want of sleep and food.

Indeed, so shaken were the Pakistani saboteurs and guerrillas that they sent frantic messages to headquarters in Muzaffarabad and Rawalpindi imploring authorities to call off the entire exercise in subversion. They stated it was impossible for them to carry out the assigned tasks, and useless to stay on the Indian side of the ceasefire line. Several such messages were intercepted by the security forces. Some raiders were in tatters. Group leaders of Pakistani raiders who infiltrated into Kashmir Valley snatched away arms, ammunition and wristwatches from the raiders who were wounded in an encounter and could not accompany them while fleeing. The three captured Pakistanis—Naiks Lal Din, Amir Khan and Kala Khan talking to newsmen on the morning of 7 September in Srinagar, in tears said: "When we were wounded, our group leaders—Captain Farooq Ahmad, Captain Khalil-ul-Rehman—ordered the other members of the group to throw us in maize fields after taking away arms and ammunition and even wristwatches. They had brought some civilian shirts and pyjamas which they handed over to us after taking away our olive green shirts and *shalwars* and Pakistani Army sweaters and socks." Two of the captured Naiks had served in the Pakistan Army for 12 years. They belonged to the Pakistan-occupied Poonch area. The third with a long service in the Pakistan Army hailed from Gilgit. They revealed that they had come in groups of over 500 each. They were assigned different tasks—to occupy the Srinagar Radio, to assassinate Government leaders and to destroy important bridges on vital routes. They were given money in Indian currency ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 for their expenses and to buy "supporters in the Valley". Amir Khan was given Rs. 500 of which he had spent Rs. 50 on buying *ghee*. Asked what he did with that much of *ghee* he had no answer. It was apparently meant for distribution among villagers and win them over. "Who will take care of your wife and children"?, asked one correspondent. At this question Lal Khan burst into tears. He shook his head, bit his lips, and his grief was too much for words.⁴³

A "Kashmir revolutionary forces aid council" was formed at Karachi on August 13, 1965, in response to an appeal from the Pakistan's clandestine "Voice of Kashmir" radio. The council appealed to Karachi residents to join the "freedom fighters" as volunteers.⁴⁴ The West Pakistan Governor, Malik Amir Mohammad Khan, in a broadcast on August 18, 1965, said that Pakistan regarded her independence incomplete without Kashmir. He assured the brave mujahids of Kashmir of Pakistan's full support.⁴⁵ On August

25, 1965, Ghulam Abbas, the Kashmiri leader in Pakistan, opened a Kashmir Fund, and asked the people of Pakistan to help the "freedom fighters." At Karachi a committee was formed to collect funds for the "Kashmiri Mujahideen now locked in a life and death battle with the Indian Army." The president of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry headed this committee. After a month's sufferings by raiders, Pakistan began air dropping supplies to the infiltrators. This was detected by the security forces, and in many cases, they recovered truckloads of rations, besides arms and ammunition.

ARMS CAPTURED

The arms and ammunition captured by the security forces included substantial quantities of automatic rifles, thousands of rounds of ammunition of various kinds, mortar bombs, rocket launchers, rockets and explosives, wire cutters, binoculars, compasses, transistor radios, signal equipment, wireless sets, batteries, grenades, mortar shells, clothings, blankets, women's *saris* and artificial hair, veils, cosmetics, sleeping bags, food, medicines, etc. Some of the equipment bore markings of Pakistan Ordnance Factory, the United States or China. A bag with the Pakistani crest over it and belonging to an officer of Pakistan's regular Baluch Regiment was recovered from a raider.

ARMS DUMPS

Most of the raiders abandoned their arms and ammunition and other equipment in a desperate bid to escape the net that was gradually closing in on them. On August 11, 1965, an arms dump containing mainly hand-grenades bearing Pakistani markings was found near Budil village in the Poonch-Rajauri sector. At Dharal also in the Poonch-Rajauri sector, a 303 rifle was found. About the middle of August security forces posted in the border area of Rajauri unearthed thirty arms dumps from its hilly region from Budil to Pir Panjal. The dumps were recovered from the thick forests and hideouts on the upper region and foothills. Some of them were found after melting of snow in the Pir Panjal range. All the dumps contained muzzle loading guns, grenades, rifles, ammunition, bayonets, two inch-mortar bombs and parachute cloth, bearing Pakistani markings.

A large quantity of arms dropped by Pakistani helicopters at night was found in the Nandimarg lake, situated in Gulabgarh area of Riasi tahsil, 150 miles from Jammu. In this area large-scale infiltration had taken place during August. Navy divers were called

for to recover these arms.⁴⁷ On June 6, 1966, the Kashmir police unearthed a dump of 1,200 rounds of light machinegun ammunition at Sarandar near Bandipur, about 34 miles from Srinagar. Ammunition rounds bore Pakistan Ordnance Factory markings. Sarandar was a stronghold of the Pakistani armed infiltrators in August-September 1965. On June 8, 1966 another dump of arms and ammunition was discovered near Badgam about 10 miles from Srinagar. The dump contained a large number of hand-grenades and ammunition. On June 13, 1966, the special police recovered some stengun magazines containing cartridges and a number of grenade fixers from Maninalla Bhak in Badgam tahsil, about 11 miles from Srinagar. Two Pakistani manufactured hand-grenades were recovered on June 14 from Poonch. An arms dump consisting of medium machineguns was found at a place near the ceasefire line in the Poonch-Rajauri sector on June 16. All the arms bore Pakistani markings.

DESTRUCTION BY INFILTRATORS

Though the raiders did not behave as brutally as in 1947-48, yet they committed many acts of harassment. Having grown thoroughly disappointed and desperate they wreaked vengeance upon the poor, innocent people, mostly Muslims. They burnt schools, *panchayatghars*, temples, *gurdwaras*, hospitals and even whole villages. They fired upon people when they tried to put out the fires in their own houses and locality. Mosques were attacked and damaged. Unarmed villagers were killed if they did not submit. They forcibly seized rations and cooked food from people. They drove people's goats and sheep for slaughter. A 20-square mile area in the north-west of Srinagar was especially subjected to loot, arson and killing. They set fire to eight villages, shot dead 20 persons and bayoneted to death four others because they had continuously informed the police of their whereabouts.

Mao said that *guerillas* could only function in congenial environment like a fish in water. Pakistan's infiltration leads to one definite conclusion, viz. that Kashmir's lakes and rivers are poison for Pakistani fish.

Under instructions of the Government of India Indian troops treated Pakistani soldiers well. "Once they surrendered, they were well cared for, their belongings were untouched, medical aid was given to the sick and the wounded and woollen clothing provided, if necessary."⁴⁸

FOREIGN REACTION, BULGE AND CHHAMB

(1)

World Admits Pakistan's Complicity

GENERAL NIMMO'S REPORT

The Government of India formally informed on August 9, 1965, General R.H. Nimmo, Chief of the United Nations Military Observer Group in Kashmir, of the gross violations of the ceasefire agreement by Pakistan. He could investigate into 27 incidents only which occurred from August 5 to September 2, 1965. He admitted that it was not possible to look into all the incidents because of the difficulties of transportation. Besides the investigations had to be carried out in "extremely difficult circumstances" and also after a lapse of time from the occurrence of incidents. Some of the incidents reported by General Nimmo are the following :

(1) Incidents on August 5 in the Galuthi sector on the Indian side of the ceasefire line.

Nature of the incidents : An Indian patrol party was attacked by 70 armed men, 8,000 yards from the ceasefire line.

Findings : The U.N. group has confirmed the attack.

(2) Incidents of August 5-6 in the Baramula sector on the Indian side.

Nature of the incident : On the night of August 5-6 a clash took place in the Gulmarg area between an Indian patrol and a

group of armed men. The armed men after firing at the patrol fled leaving behind arms, ammunition and equipment.

Findings : The U.N. Observers saw the abandoned material and noted that the weapons had their markings scratched off.

(3) Incidents of August 7-8 on the Indian side of the Poonch sector.

Nature of incidents : Intensive fighting with a large force of raiders on the night of August 7-8.

Findings : "U.N. Observers confirmed most of the reported fightings. The number of raiders was estimated to exceed 1,000. The available evidence indicated that most of the raiders must have come across the ceasefire line. As on August 24, the raiders were still holding some of the Indian pickets north of Mandi."

(4) Armed group attacked five bridges on the night of August 7-8 in the Baramula sector of the Indian side.

Findings : The U.N. Observers confirmed the attack. They interviewed one of the captured raiders who stated that he was a soldier of the 16th Azad Kashmir Infantry Battalion "and that the raiding party was composed of 200 soldiers of this battalion and 100 Mujahids".

(5) The U.N. Observers noted that some of the material abandoned by the raiders were manufactured in Pakistan.

The U.N. Secretary General in his report of September 3, 1965, to the Security Council said : "General Nimmo has indicated to me that the series of violations that began on August 5 were to a considerable extent in subsequent days in the form of armed men generally not in uniform crossing the CFL from the Pakistan side for the purpose of armed action on the Indian side. This is a conclusion reached by General Nimmo on the basis of investigations by the United Nations Observers, in the light of the extensiveness and character of the raiding activities and their proximity to the CFL, even though in most cases the actual identity of those engaging in the armed attacks on the Indian side of the Line and their actual crossing of it could not be verified by direct observation or evidence."¹

U. Thant added : "As regards violation by artillery there was heavy and prolonged artillery fire across the Line from the Pakistan side in the Chhamb-Bhimber area on August 15 and 16, and on August 19 and 26 the town of Poonch was shelled from the Pakistan

side, some of these shells hitting the building occupied by UN military observers." He confirmed that on August 24 armed elements from Pakistan were still occupying Indian positions (pickets) north of Mandi in the Poonch sector of the cease-fire line. He stated that Pakistan artillery again shelled the town of Poonch on August 28.

FOREIGN PRESS COMMENTS

Foreign press reports and comments for the first time since Kashmir became a U.N. issue gave the correct appraisal of the real situation in Kashmir. The *London Times* on August 11, 1965, in a despatch from its correspondent in India said: "There is no indication of any armed revolt by the people from the Indian side (of Kashmir) as announced by Pakistan Radio."

The *Baltimore Sun* on August 12, 1965, in a report from its correspondent, James Keat, describing a tour around Srinagar, said: "There is no evidence visible in or near this city to support reports from Pakistan of a popular uprising against India, nor of repressive measures against the population." He added: "Political sources hostile to the Indian Kashmir Government agreed that there is no uprising of the local residents. They said that their followers around the State report no sign of a revolutionary movement which the Pakistan Government has said is operating in Kashmir."

The *Sydney Daily Telegraph* on August 13, 1965, reported from its columnist Emery Bares: "Whatever the basic rights or wrongs of the chronic Kashmir problem may be, Pakistan's claim that the present armed conflict there is a purely internal rebellion against India stretches credulity a trifle too far."

Jacques Nevard, correspondent of the *New York Times*, on August 14, 1965 said: "On the basis of most reports thus far, the infiltrators appear to have been recruited mainly from among the people of Azad Kashmir. One sign is that most of the prisoners captured so far do not speak the Kashmiri dialect. ... They speak various Punjabi dialects normally used by the inhabitants of the extreme western sectors under Pakistani control. Reports from Pakistan that troubles in Jammu and Kashmir are a popular revolt appear to be without foundation." The *Washington Post* of 14 August said: "Reports from a variety of sources in Srinagar and the information gained from Kashmiri and Pakistani sources during visits to Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Karachi have little doubt that at

least fifteen hundred Pakistani-officered commandos have crossed the ceasefire line since August 5."

The BBC television on August 16, 1965 said: "Undoubtedly they hoped for such local support, perhaps a popular uprising, but there has not been one." Ivor Jones, New Delhi correspondent of the British Broadcasting Corporation, on August 21, 1965, from Srinagar reported: "If the guerillas had come expecting any welcome or cooperation from the local population they did not get it."

The Daily Telegraph, London, on August 28, 1965, said: "There can be little doubt that this was a military operation launched from Pakistan with official cognizance. The intruders are not numerous enough to be a serious menace to India and they cannot consolidate their success."

Paul Humes, correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, reported in a despatch to his newspaper: "The Pakistanis have infiltrated at several points along the 475 mile-long 16-year-old cease-fire line that is supposed to be supervised by the United Nations Military Observers. . . This week's attacks were launched from 'Azad Kashmir' or the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line." He further said that the assertion that the trouble was a popular revolt against the Indian rule appears "to be without foundation."

Jean Wetz, correspondent of *Le Monde* of France, reported: "Whatever be the real figure of guerillas already sent to Kashmir, official indications from Pakistan concerning formation of infiltrators show that a reserve of at least 10,000 people are deployed in the vicinity of the frontier."

The correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* in a despatch wrote: "No one (of the Kashmiris) wants to join Pakistan. This was further demonstrated now by the rate at which infiltrators are being rounded up as a result of local information being given to the Kashmir Government and the Indian authority here."

A report of August 29, 1965, quoted *The Economist*, London, observing, "there is no doubt that armed bands have crossed the ceasefire line from the Pakistan side." The weekly further stated that the Indian retaliation so far had been "relatively mild."

The Times own correspondent in a despatch datelined Rawalpindi, August 29 but delayed by censorship and published on the morning of August 31, 1965, said: "The pullback now with the Kashmir

issue still closed by India's refusal to discuss it would be to admit tacitly that Kashmir would be Indian as far in the future as could be seen. One hopeful indication, but a slight one, is that there has been no mention (in Pakistan) of Pakistani regular troops being in action on the ceasefire line. The crossings of the line from this side, when admitted at all, are maintained to be by single armed civilians bent on liberating their brethren from Indian rule. The forces pushed out of small posts on the line by Indian attacks are described as soldiers of Azad Kashmir but not until Pakistan throws in regular troops and admits it will her commitment be irreversible." The next few days, said *The Times* correspondent, would probably be decisive and the choice was Pakistan's : whether to reinforce and sustain the guerillas in Kashmir, to react in strength against India's repeated but limited and tactical crossings of the ceasefire line or to allow the situation to simmer down. There was no purchase for diplomatic intervention this time. Although the prospect of war was no doubt as appalling in Washington and Moscow as it was in London, none of the Interested Powers had ventured beyond cautionary words to both--and Pakistan and India were fully aware of the dangers that confronted them. However, the controls were locked in both Rawalpindi and Delhi and in both Governments there were men who believed that the collision must come one day and that it might as well be then. If the operation had been intended to set off a general uprising of the Kashmiris against Indian rule it could already have been judged a failure. With scores of thousands of Indian troops and armed police to reinforce their innate aversion to violence, the Kashmiris had barely stirred. In fact, however, the conception behind the infiltrations appeared to be more subtle. As the Rann of Kutch fighting continued seemingly unshakeable Indian position might be changed by diplomatic intervention after the imminence of war between India and Pakistan had alarmed the interested Powers.

Donald Chesworth, correspondent of *The Guardian*, London, after a tour of the Valley during the Indo-Pakistan conflict exploded the myth of a popular rising in Kashmir, so assiduously built by Pakistan. On September 18 he wrote : "At no time did I come across any evidence that there was a Kashmiri revolt spontaneous or otherwise. Although I met and discussed the situation with many people, including those opposed to Kashmir being part of India, I did not meet a single person who maintained the proposition of a spontaneous non-Pakistan directed Kashmiri local revolt. Indeed those attracted by the idea of a Kashmir, independent of both India and Pakistan, complained

that the various exercises in violence attempted by groups of infiltrators would make the independent solution more difficult to negotiate." The British correspondent added: "The raiders did little damage. If there had been a popularly-based revolt or even strong support for the groups of Pakistani infiltrators, there would have been clear evidence of sabotage and damage. In fact, Pakistani allegations of damage done in Srinagar by the Kashmiris said to be in revolt—allegations appearing in the English Press of Pakistan—were effectively ridiculed by the Jammu and Kashmir Government placarding the city with facsimile of Pakistan's newspaper front pages. These contained catalogues of damage and destructions. It was plain for the looking that the whole list of buildings said to be destroyed were intact. In Srinagar up to the time I left, the atmosphere was calm and appeared normal except for the military presence, especially at public buildings and bridges and the nightly curfew. Tourists reduced in numbers compared with previous years flew in and out until civil air services were suspended following the Pakistani air attack on the Srinagar airport. There were no restrictions other than occasional police road checks on movements of tourists by bus and car through the Kashmir Valley. Such completely free movement would not have been possible if a full-fledged internal revolt had been in progress. Consequently, I was able by car and bus together with an Urdu-speaking Muslim student to visit various centres in the Kashmir Valley. Either in English or helped by this student I talked with anyone willing to talk and as the Kashmiris are a friendly people this included practically everyone I met from Ministers to boatmen, including the desirability of Kashmir being included in Pakistan and (particularly by some professionally qualified people) the advantages of independence of both India and Pakistan. Even amongst those, who expressed themselves in strongly pro-Pakistan terms, no one welcomed what was everywhere accepted as being a Pakistan military invasion of Kashmir. One refreshing aspect of Kashmir was the number of times I saw political opponents of the present Kashmir Government pay tributes to the personal incorruptibility and hard work of the Chief Minister, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq, and the Congress' General Secretary, Syed Mir Qasim. No matter how discussions with Kashmiris dissatisfied with the present constitutional position start it is generally accepted that in terms of education, communications, land reform and in various other ways much progress has been made since 1947. Even those strongly opposed to the Indian administration agree that what has

taken place compares favourably with the administration in that part of Kashmir which is in Pakistani hands. Little enthusiasm is expressed for Pakistan, but those in Kashmir arguing for change, in the end, it seems, inescapably fall back with the declaration, anyway Muslims cannot be safe in a Hindu State. But it is difficult to follow this argument in Kashmir. There is, of course, a Muslim majority there, and relations between the Muslims and the Hindus have been and remain very good."

CONFESSIONS OF PAKISTANI PRISONERS OF WAR

The Pakistani officers and soldiers captured by Indian security forces confessed that the infiltration took place from Pakistan. A Pakistani Army officer who led a group of raiders across the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir was captured by our security forces in Uri sector. In a tape-recorded talk he confessed that each company of raiders was assigned a specific task of sabotage. They were required to raid Indian Army formations and units, damage roads and bridges and disrupt army convoys. In the second stage they were to merge with the local population. After this they were to await further instructions from their headquarters which would move into Jammu and Kashmir to direct the operations on the spot. They were told that the people would help them. But the local population rendered no help.

Twenty-seven-year old Captain Masood of the Pakistan Army belonged to Lyallpur in West Pakistan. He was a science-graduate. He was seconded to "Azad Kashmir Army." He led more than 100 infiltrators. Among the tasks assigned to him was to demolish the Uri bridge and other important links nearby. He came near the Uri bridge thrice, but failed to carry out his plans due to constant vigilance maintained by the Indian forces. Afterwards he advanced to Gulmarg where his movements were noticed. He went into hiding. Most of his men deserted him. He was left only with two companions. They were going to Sankh without knowing that the Indian forces had captured it. He was seen in the Hajipur Pass by Indian security forces to whom he surrendered with a stengun without offering any resistance. He said they were told by Pakistan authorities that the headquarters of Gibraltar Force would soon move into Kashmir to direct the operations on the spot.* Captain Masood was wearing the raider dress-olive green shirt and *shalwar*, and Pakistani army jersey, socks and jungle boots. He spoke good English. The Captain said he was treated well by the security forces. Even though the forces were

themselves short of food for some time, they shared with him whatever they had. "I have no complaints against the treatment", he said.

Another captured officer was 28-year-old Captain Ghulam Hussain. He belonged to the 8th "Azad Kashmir" Infantry Battalion of the Pakistan Army. He expressed great disappointment at the treatment given to the infiltrators by the people of Jammu and Kashmir. This made the task of the infiltrators very difficult, he said. His company was assigned the task of blasting a bridge and attacking the headquarters of an Indian brigade. Each infiltrator was paid Rs. 120 with free rations. Captain Hussain was given nine thousand rupees in Indian currency to make local purchases. The 38-year-old Captain Mohammad Sajjad was one of the captured raiders. In a tape-recorded interrogation he said that he formerly belonged to the 8th Baloch regiment of the Pakistan Army. He was later attached to 18 "Azad Kashmir" Battalion of the Pakistan Army. He led a company of infiltrators into Kashmir. The overall command of all the companies was with the GOC, 12 Infantry Division, Pakistan Army, Lt. General Akhtar Hussain Malik, who addressed all company commanders at Kotli on August 1, 1965.

Sepoy Mohammed Afzal, one of the Pakistani infiltrators, said he belonged to the 2nd Azad Kashmir Battalion. He lived in village Thirkot in Bagh tahsil of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. He had served for 16 years with the armed forces in the 1st and 2nd Azad Kashmir Battalions and the 1st Border Rifles. His company consisted of 130 persons commanded by Captain Salim. It was equipped with light machineguns. Every man in the company was given 200 rounds of ammunition before he was ordered to cross the ceasefire line. The company crossed the ceasefire line near Bhimbar at Barnala (in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir). Soon after crossing they were surrounded by the Indian security forces. In the encounter he was wounded. He remained hidden in the jungle for three days. The food he was carrying had gone bad. He was hungry. He decided to go to a village in search of food. He met some civilians, who challenged him, and he surrendered. Five Pakistani soldiers who were captured during the operations in Tithwal sector said that they had been told the Pakistani raiders had completely disrupted life in the State by destroying scores of bridges and cutting off roads. "We are surprised to find that life in the State is moving in normal fashion.

The vehicle in which we travelled for nine hours was not held up anywhere even once. Hindus and Muslims move about in a spirit of cordiality and brotherhood." The soldiers also said they had been told fabricated stories of 'atrocities' by the Indian Army. The relations between *Jawans* of the Indian Army and the civilian population were cordial, they added. One of the soldiers who belonged to Pakistan-occupied area of Jammu and Kashmir disclosed that the Pakistani authorities were not keeping 'Azad Kashmir' battalions of the Pakistan army on posts along the ceasefire line. Troops serving in the area, he said, were drawn from Pakistan. The Pakistani raiders, the soldier said, had only one choice, that is to surrender to the Indian security forces. Return to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir was out of question, because they knew that they would be shot dead by the Pakistani authorities for their failure⁸.

FLAT DENIALS BY PAKISTAN

Pakistan's propaganda machine functions on the principle that if a lot of mud is thrown, some of it will stick. Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Z. A. Bhutto, on August 10, 1965, said "that the responsibility for whatever is happening in Kashmir could not by any stretch of imagination be attributed to Pakistan⁹." On the night of August 10-11 Bhutto rejected an Indian protest alleging that the Pakistani infiltrators had entered the Indian sector.¹⁰ Amjad Ali of Pakistan at the U.N. called on U. Thant on August 12 and told him that Pakistani forces were not involved in the infiltrations and denied any Pakistani responsibility¹¹. Z.A. Bhutto at Rawalpindi on August 12 said that Pakistan had absolutely no connection with the present situation caused by armed infiltrators in Jammu and Kashmir. He described the situation as an "uprising of the brave and heroic people of Jammu and Kashmir against oppression and tyranny¹²." President Ayub Khan on August 13, in a message marking Pakistan's National Day, urged India to realise the "gravity of the situation" in Kashmir and bring about "an honourable settlement while there is still time to do so." He continued : "The years of oppression have not dimmed the hope which shines in the hearts of the Kashmiri people to achieve their destiny by deciding their own future¹³." Bhutto said in Rawalpindi on August 14 that Pakistan had nothing to do with the "uprising" in Jammu and Kashmir. "We naturally sympathise with the heroic people as much as we sympathise with people fighting for their freedom all over Asia and Africa." Asked to comment on the report that India had informed the U.N. Secretary General that

the situation in Kashmir was grave and that she reserved the right to use all possible means to meet the situation, Bhutto said: "If we are attacked, we will face an honourable death and perish rather than allow tyranny and oppression to dominate. Such an eventuality would set the whole continent ablaze." He blamed India for the "uprising" in Kashmir.¹⁴

On August 19, PTI reported from Karachi that Government controlled Press and Radio in Pakistan had blacked out Indian reports of the activities and fate of the Pakistani infiltrators in Kashmir. Pakistanis were, instead, fed on the broadcasts by 'Sada-e-Kashmir', an adjunct of "Azad Kashmir" Radio near Muzaffarabad. Newspapers carried stories of India "deploying" her air force "in its desperate bid to put down the armed rebellion in occupied Kashmir." According to *Dawn*, "Indians are using artillery and planes in a last bid to save Srinagar." The Pakistan propaganda line was that acts of sabotage, arson and murder by the infiltrators in Kashmir were the result of a "popular revolt" against the Indian Government.

Ali Akbar, Minister for Kashmir Affairs, in Lahore on August 20 said that not a single Pakistani or Azad Kashmiri had gone to the Indian part of Kashmir to fight in the "freedom movement." "Pakistan is honouring its commitments regarding the ceasefire line," he added. Pakistan had arrested Azad Kashmiris who had tried to cross the ceasefire line into the Indian part of the territory, he continued. The "brave people of Jammu and Kashmir have taken to arms." "These are the people who are being called Pakistani infiltrators by India. History of imperialism is full of instances when freedom-fighters were dubbed as traitors, intruders and mercenaries. By whatever name India may choose to call them, they remain freedom-fighters with whom India will have to contend." Ali Akbar said it appeared India had "started calling the freedom-fighters of Jammu and Kashmir as Pakistani infiltrators as a prelude to some aggressive action against Pakistan."

Shahabuddin, Pakistan's Information Minister, in an interview in Karachi with Indonesian reporters on August 29, 1965, said that by "resorting to warlike actions" against Kashmir and Pakistan, India was harming itself and weakening the position of Afro-Asian nations, thereby strengthening the "old established forces" in Asia.

President Ayub Khan in his first-of-the-month broadcast to the



No 4 : Uri-Poonch Bulge

nation on September 1 described the situation in Kashmir as an "open revolt by people against Indian oppression," and said New Delhi's move to dismiss "the popular uprising" as "the work of infiltrators from across the ceasefire line" is a "pathetic attempt at deluding the world." "The people of Jammu and Kashmir who had been living under colonial oppression have risen in open revolt," he said.

On September 18, 1965, in the United Nations Security Council, Pakistan's Law Minister, S. M. Zafar, said: "The truth is that this hue and cry about infiltrators was made to give India a pretext to launch a new campaign of terror and repression against the people of Jammu and Kashmir who have risen against India's military occupation of the bulk of the State."

(2)

Battle of the Bulge

Far from accepting responsibility for withdrawing the infiltrators, Pakistan did not admit even in the face of world opinion that it had sent them in Kashmir. It insisted that they were only indigenous "freedom fighters". Besides the United Nations had failed to hold the ceasefire line. This forced India to cope with the infiltrators on her own.

In order to seal off the routes from which infiltrators entered the State, to capture the posts from which Pakistan could endanger our essential supply lines, to destroy the training ground of the infiltrators on the Pakistan side of the ceasefire line, and to cover Muzaffarabad which was a vital Pakistani base for infiltration and supply, it was considered necessary to cross the ceasefire line, and take possession of these vital points. There was every justification to fight the aggressor in our own territory illegally held by him. Too long had India been on the defensive. India's action in hitting back the enemy in view of his brazen provocation could not be misunderstood. Even if there was such a risk, it was worth while to be taken. It was our inherent right of self defence. This was not only upheld by international law but specifically recognised in the United Nations Charter.

The move was significant in military terms. The entire terrain was mountainous and difficult. Pakistani posts were located as high as 12,000 feet. In such an area defence had advantages over attack. Slouched in a nature-made trench behind a boulder or in foliage, a hundred soldiers could hold back a whole battalion of a 1,000 for hours and even days. The political significance was greater. The

capacity of the Indian Army to give a fitting reply to the aggressor was never in doubt. The only doubtful point was whether the Government of India had the capacity to take a political decision empowering the Army to cross the ceasefire line.

The Government of India was faced with a hard decision. Should India raise its hand only in self-defence as it had always done in the past, or should it hit the aggressor in retaliation? Should India always play the game of defence at the aggressor's bidding and according to rules prescribed by it, or should it, occasionally frame its own rules and choose its own ground? It appears that Prime Minister Shastri and Defence Minister Chavan had learnt some lesson from their discomfiture in Kutch. Many indications were given by the Government of India of its intention to take a serious note of the Pakistani infiltration. Debate in the Rajya Sabha on August 19, 1965, clearly showed the unanimity of opinion that India should retaliate against Pakistan and take the bases from where the raiders were operating. The *New York Times* on August 22, quoted Prime Minister Shastri in an interview to its Delhi correspondent as saying: "If Pakistan continued her aggression, India would not limit herself to defensive measures but would strike back." He also stated that India and Pakistan were closer to war now than at any time since partition. The Defence Minister, Y. B. Chavan, declared in the Lok Sabha on August 23 amidst cheers that "if it is found necessary to cross the ceasefire line in Kashmir in order to defend the line, India would not fail to do so." He admitted that U. N. Observers had been ineffective in preventing Pakistani attacks across the line. Shastri told Parliament on August 24, 1965: "As we did in Kargil our armed forces will have to go to the points from where Pakistani infiltrators tried to enter Kashmir across the cease-fire line." These warnings were taken lightly by Pakistan. In the light of past history, they were taken as empty threats meant only to give vent to one's injured feelings without any intention to execute them.

INDIAN TROOPS CROSS INTO TITHWAL

The Indian security forces were ordered to cross the ceasefire line into Tithwal on the night of 24-25 August, 1965; but they were forbidden to seize Muzaffarabad, the capital of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. One company of Indian troops was asked to capture a strongly defended Pakistani position at a height of 9,000 feet. As the *jawans* advanced a severe hand-to-hand fight developed. Our troops were outnumbered by the enemy and were in danger of being

mauled. Lance Havildar Gurdev Singh of Jaito in Faridkot area moved his section quickly to strengthen the assault and charged the enemy post with a ferocious punch. He was severely wounded in the left arm by a splinter from an enemy grenade. Yet he pressed forward bayoneting and shooting the enemy with only one hand. During the main attack Gurdev Singh improvised a sling for his wounded arm, and advanced to the front firing his stengun with his right hand and throwing hand-grenades with the injured left hand. Gurdev Singh moved from bunker to bunker. He allowed himself to be evacuated only after our troops had been completely in command of the enemy position. He was awarded Vir Chakra¹⁵. Our troops captured 4 Pakistani soldiers, one Pathan porter, four 81 mm mortars, four 30 Brownings, one 50 Browning, a rocket launcher, and a large quantity of ammunition. One Pakistani soldier was killed. One more post close by was also captured. On 25 August Indian security forces attacked a hill feature called Pir Sahiba, 8,000 feet high. Eight Pakistani soldiers were killed and three captured. Twelve rifles, three light machineguns and one rocket launcher fell in our hands. This was the third post captured in this sector. From the new positions Indian troops could survey an extensive area and in particular could watch certain important routes which the Pakistani saboteurs had been using to enter Kashmir. From there they could prevent further infiltration along those routes.

Srinagar city was jubilant. People gathered outside radio shops to hear Radio Kashmir broadcast the news in Kashmiri language. Many shook hands with one another in great joy. They said : "This is the only way to teach a lesson to Pakistan, which has been committing aggression all these years." Jammu town witnessed exciting scenes. People danced with joy and shouted slogans, "Indian Army Zindabad", and "Liberate Pakistan-occupied Area." All political parties in Indian Parliament greeted Defence Minister's statement with thunderous cheers and congratulated the Government on this step. Even C. Rajagopalachari, a staunch critic of Government policies, on August 25, 1965, fully supported the Government's action in sending security forces across 'the ceasefire line. He said such effective action was the only way to deter further armed incursions from the other side. "I am sorry to have to speak the language of brutality, but unless we strike terror, we cannot deter them," he said. President Radhakrishnan said on August 26, 1965 that in certain circumstances attack was the best form of defence, and the Indian Army was engaged in this task in Jammu and Kashmir.

In consequence raiders began fleeing back across the ceasefire line in large numbers. Two companies of the 'Khalid Force' along with their commander Major Mehraj Din, returned to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. There was confusion in Pakistan-held Kashmir. The Pakistani authorities started evacuation of villagers from the Chinari and Muzaffarabad areas across the ceasefire line, and Palandari, Bagh and Rawalkot areas in the occupied part of Poonch. Muzaffarabad, the capital of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, was a ghost town. It was the main centre from where infiltrators were directed and sustained.¹⁴ Its entire population as well as the inhabitants of neighbouring areas had fled to Murree, Rawalpindi and other places. The entire administrative machinery had collapsed. Even Government records were reported to have been destroyed by fleeing officials. Some of the officials had set fire to several villages. They had carried away cattle and other property belonging to the inhabitants, to avoid their falling into the hands of Indian forces.

On 1st September Indian troops improved their position by a slight northward move and captured new mountain heights in addition to three posts already in their occupation. A mountain height known as Sanjoi, a strategic enemy post, was attacked by our troops under command of Major Sat Parkash Varma. The Pakistani forces were fully entrenched at this post. Major Varma ruthlessly attacked them. The Pakistanis suffered heavily and abandoned the post. The Major, however, fell in the battle. Subedar Man Bahadur Gurung and Lance Naik Raj Bahadur Gurung displayed great gallantry in the capture of Sanjoi. Both were awarded *Vir Chakra*. Three more Pakistani posts were located four miles north of Tangdhar in the area of Sanjoi. Our troops assaulted the highest of these posts on the night of 3-4 September, and dislodged the Pakistanis from all the posts. Twenty Pakistani soldiers were killed and large quantities of arms and ammunition were captured by our men. Thus the Indian troops reached the outskirts of Mirpur, a few miles north-east of Muzaffarabad. Now they dominated the whole area east of the Kishanganga river. From Sanjoi, Indian troops were in complete command of one of Pakistan's main supply routes to its military establishment in the Kargil area connecting Muzaffarabad with Kel near Kargil along the Kishanganga river. On September 11 our forces reached the Kishanganga river and destroyed the vital Mirpur bridge on the Pakistan side of the ceasefire line. On September 12 they seized two more strategic Pakistani posts about five miles north-east of Tithwal. Forty-three Pakistanis were killed and a large number

wounded in a clash which took place in Tithwal sector on September 21. Over 200 Pakistani troops were entrenched in one of their positions known as point 9013, after its height, six-and-a-half miles north-east of Tithwal. As a result of the clash, the enemy was thrown out of this position. This was an important hill feature.

CAPTURE OF HAJIPUR PASS

The next main objective of Indian forces was to capture the famous Hajipur Pass. It was dominated by three neighbouring hill features—on the east by Badori 12,300 feet, and on the west by Sankh 9,500 feet and Ludwall Gali 10,300 feet to the south-west. It was considered essential to seize these posts before proceeding to the Hajipur Pass 8,650 feet. Badori is situated $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Uri and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of the ceasefire line. Hajipur Pass is about six miles south-west of Badori.

The second column of the Indian Army crossed the ceasefire line on the night of 26-27 August at 9.30 south of Uri. One contingent was assigned the task to capture Badori and the other Sankh hill. Two attempts on 26 and 27 August failed to take Badori. On 25 August there was torrential rainfall and the ground had become very slippery. It was very difficult to climb up steep hills in the face of heavy bombardment from the Pakistani post. The enemy was holding the area with two full companies and was covering the precipitous approaches with medium and light machineguns. Undaunted by the hazards involved and heavily outnumbered, Lt. Col. Sampuran Singh of the Punjab Regiment led the men personally on 28 August at 9 p.m. Two companies of the battalion advanced, but the heavy enemy fire soon pinned them down. At this crucial moment, Sampuran Singh, amidst intense enemy fire, advanced towards the objective. By first light next morning Badori was in our hands and the enemy was forced to run away.

Sankh, 9,500 feet high, occupied a formidable position. Here the Pakistani bunkers were shellproof. They had laid barbed wires around them and machineguns were in position. A daring young man of 30, Major Ranjit Singh Dayal, with just one company climbed up a frightfully slippery path. It was pitch dark. Indian troops fiercely attacked the enemy. At the end of a three-hour engagement, just before dawn at 4 o'clock on August 27 Sankh was in our hands.

Hajipir Pass is 90 miles away from Srinagar by car, jeep, pony and on foot. It is situated at a height of 8,650 feet on the road from Uri to Poonch. The pass is 5 miles south of the ceasefire line on the Pakistani side as the crow flies, but it is at a considerably longer distance by tracks. The hill features leading to the Pass bear scraggy appearance, punctuated by occasional clusters of trees and hamlets. The river Jhelum flows languidly at their feet. The capture of Sankh was the first link in Dayal's dare-devil operation. He dashed to the south-west clearing after heavy fighting Pakistan Army units and concentrations of raiders. Sar, another hill feature, was captured by 9 a.m. and Ludwali Gali was in his hands at 11 a.m. Dayal now sought permission of his commanding officer to advance to Hajipir. The commanding officer called him 'mad cap'. "It is difficult to stop him", he said. The permission was given. Just with 100 men, without taking any rest after his night-long fighting and fatigue he pushed forward. The Hyderabad nullah was reached at 6 o'clock in the evening. The Pass was 4,000 feet higher up from this place. There was a torrential downpour of rain. Climbing up by the beaten track was not considered safe. An alternative route, a small, narrow pathway, was adopted. The night's zigzag and slow trekking through forests and rugged and rocky terrain took them to the open Uri-Poonch road leading to the Pass on the morning of 28 August. At 8 o'clock they were at the bund near the Pass. The Pakistanis fired at them with Browning and medium machineguns from Hajipir range. A couple of two-inch mortars were fired back in reply. Leaving some men at this point to face the enemy, Dayal climbed another hill feature. From there he stormed the enemy position at the Pass. The Pakistanis fled away. By 10.30 a.m. Indian forces were in complete control of the Pass. In the afternoon Captain Masood of the Pakistan Army, not knowing what had happened, came leisurely walking and singing into the Pass. He was immediately forced to surrender without any resistance.

A captain who took part in the capture of the Pass, described the feelings of the *Jawans* in these words - "Our men went crazy and fired shots in the air in spite of orders. We were so happy and proud that we had captured the pass. The men, who participated in the operations, had to go without food and blankets for at least four days but they minded it least. The joy of victory made us forget our hunger. Our first breakfast consisted of chocolates. We lit a bonfire and sat the whole night near it."

The enemy tried to recover the Pass on the night of 29-30 August, but their attack was repulsed after a stiff battle. A good deal of ammunition and wireless equipment fell into our hands. At the highest point of the Pass stands the shrine of Hajipir, a Muslim saint of days gone by, after whom the pass is named. The local people tie a *mehrab*—a decorated piece of cloth—round the twigs of trees near the shrine, as a mark of respect, and to invoke the blessings of the saint for safe journey. The Indian Army *jawans*—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians—while going through the Pass paid their homage to the saint in the traditional manner. They tied a white flag on a terrain of the pass to show their respect to the Muslim saint and to symbolise India's desire for peace. The tricolour flew on the top of a pole. The shrine, raised on a pedestal with trees and shrubs all over the place, was in shambles when the Pass was captured by the Indian forces. The Indian *jawans* cleaned the place and rearranged the stone wall around the shrine. Hajipir was the nerve centre of Pakistan's road communication for the entire area. Pakistan built a motorable road up to the Pass from which many arterial tracks connected the ceasefire line in different directions. It was from Hajipir and Badori passes that Pakistanis moved towards Gulmarg and the Kashmir Valley, and from these bases they were supplied. By capturing this Pass, Indian troops plugged passage routes of the Pakistani Army and infiltrators. Indian forces were sitting right on the Pir Panjal range overlooking Poonch, enabling them to dominate an area of about 81 square miles. It was the most valuable gain to India in the recent fighting, and it had come to be linked closely with public emotions. Strategically, Tithwall and Kargil were equally important but somehow their mention did not touch the same chords in the public mind as of Hajipir.

The advancing Indian columns seized in addition to Sankh, Ludwali Gali, Hajipir and Badori, six more posts on 28-30 August located at Sankh ridge, Burji, Pathra, Kuthnar ki Gali, Sawan Pathri and Jabar. In a drive to clear up pockets of resistance they captured on 1 September four more posts situated to the east of the Hajipir Pass at Painkri, Dhakkar, Lunda and Medi Gali. These posts were situated at heights of 10,000 feet upwards. Our troops captured large stocks of arms and ammunition from these posts. The Pakistani troops at Painkri and Dhakkar posts set fire to the bulk of the stocks of rations and other supplies before the posts fell into our possession.

Pakistani troops occupied a mountain feature known as Ring Contour, about 3 miles south-west of the Hajipir Pass on August 30.

Indian troops reoccupied this post, and drove the Pakistani force away. About 30 Pakistani soldiers were killed and wounded. On the same date, Indian troops in the Hajipir Pass were subjected to sporadic artillery and mortar fire by Pakistani forces. This was neutralised by effective return of the fire. Indian troops ambushed a party of Pakistani troops in an area west of Badoti on August 30. Two Pakistani soldiers were killed while the rest fled. Our forces further improved their positions in the *Hajipir Pass* area. They attacked and captured another Pakistani position three miles west of Hajipir in the early hours of September 5. Three counter-attacks by Pakistani troops in this area were repulsed with heavy losses to the enemy. A number of clashes took place in this area in which Pakistanis suffered a large number of casualties.

In the Hajipir sector, a naik led a charge on an enemy heavy machinegun post. He caught hold of the barrel, turned it in the opposite direction, killed three enemy soldiers, and captured the post. Later, he led the charge on another light machinegun post and silenced it. In doing so he lost his life.¹¹ In the same sector, a *jawan* had been severely injured in the face. He insisted on manning his post. When he was ordered to pull out, he walked with his weapon to the regimental medical post, a two hour walking distance for a healthy person. The gallant soldier succumbed to his injuries.¹² Major Ranjit Singh Dayal was awarded Maha Vir Chakra on account of his brilliant success and promoted as Lieutenant-Colonel. The Pakistan Army had offered a prize of Rs. 50,000 for the head of Major Dayal. This story came out accidentally. One day an Indian Army officer was talking to his patrol on a wireless link. He heard a Pakistani telling his comrades on the same frequency, "I wish I had Major Dayal's head. I could get 50,000 rupees from our Army."

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

The people of all the 15 villages in this area were found to be living in an abyss of poverty and misery. They were found without any food stuff as their supplies had been forcibly seized by Pakistani soldiers. They used to take away goats, chickens, eggs and other things without paying for them. Men and women moved about in tattered clothes. The people were used for forced labour to carry heavy loads from one place to another receiving abuses and kicks in payment.

Ghulam Rasool Kar, Kashmir Minister for Works and Power, went up to the Hajipir Pass on the afternoon of August 30, 1965.

Kar addressed a meeting of the villagers in Khoja Bandi near the Pass. Many of the 5,000 residents of 15 villages attended the meeting. Four Pakistani Razakars surrendered themselves on the evening of September 2, at Kanhian, one of the 15 villages, to the Minister. They handed over their arms and ammunition—one stengun, three rifles and four ammunition belts. Bashir-ud-din, one of the Razakars, said that he was prepared to work as a labourer, but since “I could not find any work, I had to agree to become a Razakar. But I have not fired a single shot since I was given this rifle, as I had no complaint against Indians.” The Minister stated: “In the course of my tour of these villages, I came across a number of villagers—mostly Gujars—who narrated a woeful tale of their persecution and harassment by the Pakistani authorities during their 17-year occupation ‘of our villages’. They said *begar* (forced labour) was introduced by the Pakistanis and they were forced to carry heavy loads for distances as long as 30 miles. ‘In most cases, no wages were paid’, the Gujars said. The villagers said the Pakistani police committed excesses and petty police officials virtually exercised the powers of deputy commissioner. Essential commodities like salt, sugar, tea, kerosene and cloth were scarce. ‘Usually one could not get even cloth for a shroud.’”

A press party visited the Hajipir Pass area on September 2, 1965. They found only one primary school for all the 15 villages having a population of 5,000. The school had no teacher. Only one local farmer who had studied up to eighth class held classes once in a while. Thus this man was the only literate person. There were no patwaris or any other civilian officer in these villages. Pakistani soldiers ruled over them. The people told newsmen that during the past eighteen years they had little supplies of sugar and kerosene oil. The people of three villages—Khoja Bandi, Bayara and Kiyan—were dressed in rags. No pucca house was to be seen anywhere, while in the Indian village of Uri, only five miles distant, hardly any mud-built house existed. The oldest resident of Khoja Bandi village, Faqir Muhammad, 80, said that there was no dispensary or doctor in the area. Even for ordinary medicines the villagers had to trek for 15 or 20 miles. There was no ration depot or Government shop for the sale of essential commodities. Faqir Muhammad said that no land records had been maintained by the Pakistani authorities. Taxes were collected by *lambardars*. No road for villagers had been constructed in the area since Pakistani occupation. The economic condition of the people was so bad that sometimes bodies were buried without any coffin cloth. Satar Ahmad of Agiwas told newsmen that their girls were forcibly

caused heavy casualties and the assault was temporarily halted. Khanna then dashed forward with grenades and reached within 20 yards of the enemy fire. His heroism inspired the battalion to move forward and attack again. During this action Khanna was wounded in the left arm by enemy bullet and in the right shoulder by grenade splinters. Unmindful of his wounds he remained with the assaulting troops and declined to be evacuated. When the attack was again halted by the enemy he dashed through the fire and encouraged his men to march forward. He was again hit badly by a machinegun bullet. He was then evacuated. He made repeated enquiries about the capture of the Raja. When the news of the capture of the post by our troops was given to him, he said : "Give my *Fateh* and *shabash* to the boys." He became unconscious, and expired soon after. Lt. Col. Khanna was awarded Maha Vir Chakra posthumously for courage and outstanding leadership.

An Indian column, consisting entirely of Muslim *Jawans* and under command of a Muslim officer marched from Poonch side on September 9 to seal off the Uri-Poonch bulge. Their passage was blocked by Pakistani forces near the Kathua bridge in the evening. This was the last point where the column from Uri had to join the column advancing from Poonch. In a four-hour bloody battle the Indian *Jawans* inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. The Pakistanis fled away leaving behind a huge dump of ammunition. With complete disregard for their own lives, the *Jawans* pushed forward to ferret the enemy positions on mountain slopes, and seized two more Pakistani posts. It was a great sight when the troops advancing from the Hajipir side met those coming from the Poonch side on the night of 10 September. They shook hands, embraced one another, and jumped in sheer excitement, zeal and glee. The Uri-Poonch link was a brilliant military operation in which heavy risks were taken. The success of this operation speaks highly of the strategy of the commanders and bravery of the *Jawans*. All of them faced many hazards to secure well-entrenched enemy positions situated on high hills. The officers who led the attack were always in the forefront of the battles. The commander-in-charge of Indian forces set an example to his officers and men by travelling scores of miles every day over difficult mountain tracks to be present on the spot at each crucial moment. A young Second Lieutenant crawled up through rocks and narrow cliffs to reach a point within a few yards of an enemy machinegun post. Balancing himself precariously on the edge of a boulder, he threw a hand-grenade which silenced the enemy gun.

After the occupation of the loop, Indian forces got busy in a vigorous cleaning up operation. Some groups of Pakistanis were found in scattered pockets. Indian troops discovered on 13 September a Pakistani post called Ziarat, three miles south-east of the Hajipir Pass. The Pakistanis ran away without putting up a fight. Our forces took possession of a large dump of arms and ammunition, which included 17,000 rounds of ammunition, over 1,000 hand-grenades, more than 200, 83 mm rockets and 30 two-inch mortar bombs. In this sector Pakistanis launched three counter-attacks on our posts south of Uri on 15 September. All these attacks were repulsed. From 50 to 60 Pakistanis were killed.¹⁹ Some other dumps were found. The total gain was 400 two-inch mortar smoke bombs, over 90,000 rounds of different types of ammunition, over 200, 83 mm rockets, 120 mm mortar bombs, above 1,000 hand-grenades, a number of anti-tank mines, and a few boxes of explosives. The collection of enormous stores in this area showed beyond doubt that the Pakistanis had planned to replenish supplies to infiltrators for a long period. A series of clashes occurred on September 21. Three more features two and a half to four miles south of Hajipir Pass were captured by our troops. The enemy left the strongly-held features after a fierce contest. Seventy bodies of Pakistanis were picked up by our forces. About 150 were estimated to have been wounded.²⁰ Having Uri-Poonch bulge in, our possession with 25 Pakistani posts, the raiders' main door into Kashmir was effectively sealed.

WORK DONE FOR THE PEOPLE

While straightening out the Uri-Poonch bulge, Indian troops were scrupulous in ensuring that no harm came to men, women and children of the area. By their discipline and humane behaviour the *jawans* endeared themselves to the people. They did not touch any property, nor molested any woman. The local people were so much impressed by this treatment that they voluntarily rendered all sorts of services to our forces. The people who had fled from villages returned to their homes after Indian occupation of the territory. In the northern sector of Hajipir there are 15 villages, and in the southern sector 85 villages. Their total population is 15,000, about 5,000 in the north and 10,000 in the south. All these were constituted into a tahsil. A hospital, 3 primary schools, and 35 posts for listening radio were established. One assistant commissioner, one tahsildar, two naib-tahsildars, five revenue officers and 20 patwaris were appointed for the tahsil. Fair-price shops for the supply of essential commodities to

the public were set up. Indian currency worth Rs. 11,000 was distributed among the people of this area to enable them to buy their requirements. The 26-mile-long road from Uri to Poonch which had been greatly damaged by Pakistani bombardment was repaired and opened to jeep traffic on November 4, 1965.²¹

(3)

Pakistan's Invasion of Chhamb

Pakistan's plot to seize Jammu and Kashmir with the aid of thousands of armed infiltrators and saboteurs sent across the ceasefire line early in August 1965 had failed. On August 15, 1965, another new dimension was added to the conflict. On this day the international border was violated by Pakistan from Pakistan proper. An infantry attack backed by heavy artillery shelling was launched in this region. According to General Nimmo's report, Pakistani soldiers "raided the village of Raipur five miles on the Indian side of the Pakistan-Jammu border." Pakistan's heavy artillery opened fire on Indian posts. Lieutenant Colonel Gurbans Singh Sangha was in command of a Muhar battalion. He maintained control over the whole front, and checked the enemy from penetrating into Indian lines. This large-scale and sustained attack in the Chhamb area and the earlier attack in the Kargil sector by regular Pakistani forces clearly established that it was Pakistan, not India, that first sent regular forces across the ceasefire line. It gives a lie to the Pakistani and Western assertion that India's "aggressive" movement across the ceasefire line in Kargil, Tithwal, and Uri-Poonch sectors left President Ayub with no option but to launch a retaliatory strike. The guilt of infiltration and the subsequent escalation rested solely with Pakistan.

The Pakistanis were seriously worried over the Indian action in the Uri-Poonch bulge. On August 29, 1965, Major-General Akhtar Hussain Malik, commanding the Gibraltar forces, issued a top secret order to Brigadier Fazle Rahim, commander Khalji force. He expressed concern over the "offensive capability" assumed by Indian forces in the Tithwal area and the threat to the Pakistani line of communications to Kel. He envisaged that the Indian forces would have to pull out if a sizable threat was posed to their rear. The Khalji force was detailed for this task. The operation failed.²² Pakistan was now desperate. General Nimmo's report was not allowed to be published in time by Pakistan's Western friends in the

Security Council. This encouraged Pakistan to embark on war. The operation was termed "Grand Slam."

Up to 31 August Pakistan remained quiet over the Indian retaliatory action in Kargil, Tithwal and Uri. Pakistani newspapers did not take any notice of these actions. President Ayub Khan proceeded to Swat for a holiday. Z. A. Bhutto in his customary manner mumbled a vague threat about hitting back at a suitable time and place. This was obviously a lull before a storm. A military regime could not let any humiliation on the battlefield, however mild, go unavenged. A despatch from the Rawalpindi correspondent of the *London Times*, published on August 31, 1965, said: "There can be no doubt that the guerilla action in Kashmir results from infiltration from this (Pakistan) side in an operation conceived, planned and directed by the Government of Pakistan." It added: "Pakistan has played its last card (in Kashmir) and seems determined to stake everything, even war, upon it, whatever the consequences for millions of people in both countries."

Chhamb was selected as the next target of Pakistani attack. India did not have tanks in the Chhamb sector because under the ceasefire agreement India could keep only a certain number of troops in Jammu and Kashmir. Besides it was easier for Pakistan to bring its tanks and troops from its cantonments in Sialkot, Kharian and Gujrat which were quite close to the border and the ceasefire line.

PAKISTAN'S OBJECTIVES IN CHHAMB

(1) To come to the rescue of armed infiltrators who were dying of hunger, wounds and fatigue. (2) To push through to Akhnur and cut off the road running from Jammu to Akhnur, Naushahra, and Jhangar. (3) To seize Jammu and cut off all communications between Jammu, Srinagar and Leh. (4) To bottle up all the Indian troops operating in Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, and guarding the ceasefire line with Pakistan and the Indian border with China. (5) To capture the administrative machinery of the State, and proclaim over the radio the de facto control over the State, which object the infiltrators had failed to achieve.

As compared to the Valley, the defence operations in Jammu border area from Chhamb to Doda faced greater difficulties. The terrain made the work of Pakistan easier. The local people speaking Panjabi or dialects akin to it are also ethnically not much indistinguishable from the outsiders. Moreover, unlike in the Valley,

the people in this area, both Hindu and Muslim, use and possess a large number of licensed and unlicensed arms. Politically, the communal situation has never been very easy. A communal chain of reactions could help Pakistan achieve what she had failed to do through infiltration.

The Indian Government's first reaction was that the Pakistani action constituted the "beginning of a hot war". But neither the contents of President Ayub's broadcast, the text of which was available there some hours in advance, nor the Pakistani attack caused any surprise. It was already realized that Pakistan would launch a massive attack at a point of its choice by way of retaliation for the firm Indian action in the Kargil, Tithwal and Uri sectors. The Government also noted the fact that the attacking Pakistani army openly used American tanks and Sabre jets. It was assumed on that day that Pakistan would not hesitate to use against India arms and equipment it had received as a member of SEATO and CENTO.

CHHAMB-AKHINUR-JAURIAN SECTOR

Chhamb is situated at the junction of the ceasefire line with the international boundary in the Jammu sector. Being close to the Pathankot-Jammu-Srinagar road, Pakistan seems to have decided long before to attack India through this sector. In order to probe the Indian defences here infiltrators and regular troops entered this region almost simultaneously on 11 August. Kundanlal, in charge of police station at Palanwala, 45 miles west of Jammu, told a party of correspondents that on the night of 11-12 August Pakistani infiltrators armed with brenguns, 2-inch mortars, light machineguns and grenades attacked them. The raiders opened heavy fire from a distance of about 300 yards, and retreated after a three-hour battle. Twenty-five-year-old Mohanlal of Jagnan village said that on 12 August he saw two armed raiders in the vicinity of his village. He immediately informed the villagers who captured them. A rifle and a stengun were recovered from them. Both were wearing civilian dress and belonged to the "Azad Kashmir" force. Udai Singh, 35 years old, of village Kalith, stated that he and his associates captured an armed raider who had lost his way and was hiding in bushes near Thandi Choi. One rifle and 300 live cartridges were taken from him. The infiltrator told them that he was under the command of Captain Khalil who was in charge of one battalion working in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

On August 11 two companies of about 220 men had crossed the ceasefire line. Indian security forces appeared on the scene and

encircled them on 12 August. Pakistani forces fired on 13 August several rounds from across the ceasefire line in order to break the Indian Army blockade of the two companies. The biggest clash since the beginning of August occurred on 14 August when the Pakistanis made second attempt to send strong reinforcements to the rescue of infiltrators. About a thousand Pakistani regular troops tried to cross the ceasefire line under cover of heavy artillery barrage. They were driven back after a sharp exchange of fire. The Pakistanis suffered about 60 casualties. On 20 August 12 passengers in a bus were seriously injured when a mine laid by Pakistanis exploded near Jaurian. On 20 and 21 August severe fighting took place in this area. Pakistanis fired continuously for 48 hours to dislodge Indian troops from their posts along the ceasefire line and to relieve pressure on the raiders. Such was the heavy pressure of Pakistani forces that several villages had to be evacuated in the interest of safety of the residents. The Pakistanis suffered heavy losses and 48 bodies were picked up after the battle. They heavily shelled one of our positions on 24 August. Pakistan Army units again shelled Indian posts on 26 August along the ceasefire line over a long distance from Tithwal to Akhnur. Brigadier Master of the Indian Army lost his life. Four medium machineguns of the enemy were knocked out near Akhnur. Pathan mountain troops belonging to Pakistan's Frontier Corps armed with 25-pounder guns were deployed in the Chhamb region.

Chhamb sector is a plain with some nullahs. Stretches of flat ground and level agricultural fields are the main features of its terrain. They made it an ideal battle-ground for tanks and other types of mechanized armour. On September 1, 1965, at 4 a.m. Pakistan's heavy artillery bombarded several points simultaneously. After an hour of intensive firing Pakistani infantry advanced across both the ceasefire line and the international border in the Chhamb region.²² The first thrust was made at Moel and Manawar. Moel stands on the banks of the rivulet which forms the ceasefire line. From this place on the other side of the rivulet Pakistani pickets, bunkers and pillboxes were visible. At Manawar the boundary is not the ceasefire line but the international border. Lt. Colonel Gurbans Singh Sangha's battalion opposed them and pushed them back with great losses. Two more attacks in large numbers were also repulsed. Then at 11.30 a. m. an infantry brigade with 90 Patton²³ tanks ahead and air cover by Sabre jets and Starfighters penetrated into Indian territory. The attack was so massive that they at once pushed into a salient of five miles deep and five miles wide. Pakistani tanks were

making a clean sweep through Chhamb to Akhnur. Colonel Sangha's battalion was cut to pieces; but he tried to check the enemy and gain time so as not to let him surround advanced Indian posts. Meanwhile Major Bhaskar had led his squadron of armoured corps, post-haste from Pathankot about 100 miles distant and immediately rushed into the battle. He checked the progress of the enemy at Mandiala, and prevented him from encircling our troops. In the engagement his squadron knocked out six Pakistani Patton tanks. Sangha and Bhaskar were both awarded Maha Vir Chakra.

On this front Indian troops were taken so unawares that by midday their entire supply of ammunition had been exhausted. On account of continuously heavy bombardment since early morning the whole area was covered with thick clouds of smoke and visibility was rather low. The ammunition was to be brought from a camp in the rear and the task was extremely hazardous. A 24-year-old *jawan* offered his services to do the job. He loaded ammunitions in a three-ton truck, and amidst cheers of his companions rushed to the forward area. The enemy fire was raging in full swing, but this young man continued dashing ahead. On reaching the front he stopped his vehicle by the side of a dry nullah, as it could not be taken farther owing to heavy bombardment going on all the time. He took out ammunition boxes, and one by one carried them on his head to the front line. After this he brought the truck back to the base safe and sound.²⁵

The situation was awful in the evening. It was after 5 p.m. that the Indian air force was suddenly called in to come to the rescue of ground forces. The notice was very short. But our brave pilots immediately got ready. Twenty-eight fighter planes were pressed into the battle. According to Wing Commander W. M. Goodman, a *Mystere* expert, "our boys were in like a flash and in no time the whole place was ablaze with burning enemy tanks and vehicles."²⁶ In the combined resistance by our ground troops as well as the air strike 13 Pakistani tanks were destroyed. Many enemy vehicles and guns were hit. Two of our aircraft did not return and two were damaged. The edge of the enemy attack was blunted. Flight Lieutenant Trilochan Singh, who won Vir Chakra, for destroying seven Patton tanks and scores of armoured vehicles, said: "*Mysteres* went in and effectively stopped the advance of the Patton tanks which are supposed to be invincible by Western standards. Our main advantage was the pods of rockets that we used and they killed every time they were fired."²⁷ By nightfall on September 1, 1965, Pakistani drive to Akhnur was

temporarily delayed, and the enemy attempts to cross the Manawar Tawi were foiled. Major Megh Singh of the Guards with 45 troopers, mostly Muslims from Rajasthan, carried out a series of courageous actions against the Pakistanis, inflicting heavy casualties on them. On the night of September 1 he found himself suddenly confronted by an enemy force of about 300 men. The Major's ready wit suggested a ruse. Taking advantage of darkness, he started shouting orders as if he were commanding a force of 400 men. The trick worked and the enemy began to withdraw quickly. They were attacked from behind and several of them were injured.¹⁸

The Indian troops pulled back in the vicinity of Jaurian along the shallow Manawar Tawi, a tributary of Jammu Tawi, in order to check the enemy advance to Akhnur. On September 2 Pakistani forces rode across this fordable river in water-proofed jeeps and trucks with sealed engines and penetrated 10 to 12 miles deep inside Indian territory. They were accompanied by a party of foreign correspondents to flash the news of Pakistan's triumphant dash to its objective. Two infantry divisions and one armoured division were kept in readiness to swoop upon Jammu only 21 miles from Akhnur by a fine metalled road. A similar force was waiting for orders to march into India from the Lahore sector to seize Harnke, Tarn Taran and Beas bridge evidently to cut off Amritsar, and to incite the Sikhs to declare the formation of an independent homeland of their own. In this way the Government of India would be disabled to come to the rescue of its forces in Jammu and Kashmir. The Sikh buffer state was to intervene between India and Pakistan firmly entrenched in Jammu and Kashmir. In Ladakh China was to wipe out Indian army units. The success of all these plans depended on the seizure of Akhnur, from where a dash was to be made on Jammu. The Pakistani forces having crossed the Manawar Tawi, advanced towards Jaurian. The Indian forces took up their position at a hill feature east of Jaurian. Besides the Pattons the enemy employed a unit of self-propelled guns. Our men hurled back Pakistani attacks and inflicted heavy losses on them. Four more Pakistani Patton tanks and an air contact team vehicle were destroyed in that day's ground battles and air strikes. Indian Air Force Mysteres attacked the advancing enemy column repeatedly and also scored direct hits on a forward Pakistani field position killing several Pakistani officers who were conducting the operations. General Nimmo in his report said the evidence available to them as on September 2 seemed to indicate that "Pakistani troops have managed to occupy an area of approximately 30 square miles, roughly extending

to occupy an area of approximately 30 square miles, roughly extending five miles east of the cease-fire line by the Manawar Tawi river and six miles north of border by the Chhamb village area."

AERIAL CLASHES

At 8 o'clock in the morning on September 3, 1965, a number of American F-86 Sabre jets and F-104 supersonic planes of Pakistan Air Force were seen over Indian territory in the Akhnur-Chhamb area. A small force of Gnat²² aircraft, manufactured in India, was ordered to intercept them. The pilots plunged forth into battle. In the brief dogfight, one of the Indian pilots, Squadron Leader Trevor Joseph Keelor,²⁰ drew first blood by shooting at an F-86 aircraft which blew up in mid-air and disintegrated. All the Indian aircraft returned to base safely. This sent a thrill of joy and acclamation throughout the length and breadth of the whole country.²¹ Trevor Keelor described the dogfight thus: "We were doing an offensive sweep. We wanted them to come. We carried out some tactical manoeuvre, and it foxed them as the term goes. One came right up on my side eventually. He was sandwiched between the lead formation and my formation at the rear. We shot him out of the sky. He had, as I could see as I was closing in on him, two sidewinder missiles on and I was just a little out of range at that time. So I just moved my throttle forward and we had a wonderful acceleration so I just closed in very quickly. I sighted on him and in my very first burst the right side of his aircraft just disintegrated and he went flicking over on his back, absolutely out of control. And that is the way it went down. In the meantime my formation ahead was having a rougher time. They had one Starfighter and two Sabres to deal with, and they dealt with them very well, and proved that we could outmanoeuvre both these aircraft at the levels as we had planned to go and with the manoeuvres we had planned to do."²²

THE STORY OF JAURIAN BOMBING

A unit of Panjab Armed Police and an army division were camping at a stone's throw from Jaurian village to comb out Pakistani infiltrators. It was on September 3 when the *jawans* and PAP men were settling down with their mugs of tea. The officers were sitting round a table outside. Just then the Pakistani Sabre jets came into view. The jets could not be identified for a few moments as they came in a high upward loop over the camp. Then a forward post telephoned to warn the Jaurian camp that enemy jets had been seen flying towards the village. Orders were swiftly shouted, and immediately the first enemy rockets screamed down upon the camp.

The soldiers hastily put down their mugs of tea. Both men and officers ran to the shelters. The officer of the PAP unit stayed behind to see that the men were in cover. An orderly of the PAP was behind him carrying a rifle. Suddenly the orderly fell down. He was hit by a rocket splinter in the back. The officer ran back to him. The orderly Kanhiyalal, was gasping with pain and losing his grip on life. He handed back the rifle to the officer, saying, "Sir, I am done for, but take this rifle and teach the enemy a lesson." He expired in the officer's lap. The jets were still circling over the village, dropping their rockets on the village, and even upon the camp hospital with clear Red Cross markings. The Pakistani jets hovered about for 35 minutes. When the smoke of the explosives cleared, the PAP officer went for his jeep near a tree. The driver was not to be seen. Nearby there was a deep hole blasted by the enemy rocket. In the debris of hot mud and shell splinters, the remains of the uniform showed that the driver had stayed with jeep to the last.

As Muslim villagers of Jaurian had refused to cooperate with the infiltrators, the Pakistani bombers decided to punish them. At this time most of the Muslim grown-up men were in the mosque to say the weekly prayer on Friday afternoon. The enemy threw bombs on the congregation killing fifty-one people on the spot.

On 4 September Pakistani forces seized three features in Jaurian area ; but shortly afterwards they were driven away from two positions. The battle of Chhamb and Akhnur was now fought in Jaurian region from 15 to 20 miles across the ceasefire line. Napalm bombs²² were for the first time dropped in Jaurian sector on 4 September to destroy a convoy carrying rations for our troops in the forward areas. The beleaguered village of Jaurian was deserted. The fighting centre was a mile to its north on a flat stretch of land overlooked by a ridge. Two Pakistani aircraft carried out a rocket attack at two places, Bismah and Saror, a few miles east of Ranbirsinghpura in the Jammu area on the morning of September 4. The rockets fell off the mark, and no damage was done to any military installations.

Twenty-seven year old Flight Lieutenant Virendra Singh Pathania claimed one of the two Pakistani F-86 Sabre jets which were shot down by the IAF Gnat pilots on September 4, 1965. He was piloting one of the four Gnats which were ordered to intercept four F-86 Sabres flying over Akhnur. Within ten minutes the enemy planes were engaged. Pathania got into position behind one of the Pakistani Sabre jets. He closed in to 600 yards before firing. Then

he struck and smoke started coming out of the F-86. Pathania closed in further and fired again from 500 yards. Still pressing in his attack and drawing closer to his victim, he fired again from 300 yards. He saw pieces flying off from the hostile Pakistani aircraft.²⁴ In a while it hit the ground and exploded near Akhnur.²⁵

The advance of Pakistani troops in the Jaurian area on September 4 was little. There was heavy fighting on 5 and 6 September between ground forces of the two countries around Jaurian, and Pakistanis could not make any advance. Pakistani bombers indulged in indiscriminate shelling of villages around Chhamb and Jaurian. They shelled Ranbirsinghpura, 15 miles from Jammu. Battered hamlets, smashed shrines and razed villages bore a mute testimony to the barbarism perpetrated by the enemy. The Indian Army units launched a vigorous counter-attack. Ditches were dug to retard the advance of Pakistani tanks. Hidden in the ditches were guns, which hit the very eyes of the Patton tanks. Pieces were seen strewn all over the place. The Pakistanis could not be hurled back to their own territory across the international boundary, but their advance to Akhnur was checked. By September 7, 1965 Pakistanis had penetrated some 20 miles inside Indian territory, threatening Indian lines of communication with Jammu and Kashmir and also between Kashmir and the rest of India. An official Press release stated that on September 7 the Pakistan Army had launched an "Operation Tank Rescue" in the Chhamb sector. A fleet of 40 tractors was brought in to evacuate Patton and Sherman tanks destroyed or disabled by air and ground action by Indian troops. All enemy attempts to probe our defences in the Akhnur sector were foiled, and the enemy was engaged in pulling out its forces from this area.

AYUB'S BROADCAST FROM RAWALPINDI

After the Pakistan Army's entry into Chhamb across the ceasefire line and the international border, President Ayub Khan blamed India for war. In his "first of the month" broadcast to the nation he declared that Pakistan was "under threat of war in Kashmir which is being forced on us by India." He said: "Exchange of fire which has been going on for months across the ceasefire line has now assumed a grimmer aspect." The President warned India that Pakistan "cannot and should not, allow persistent violations of the ceasefire line by Indian forces to go unchallenged." He described the situation in Kashmir as an "open revolt by people against Indian oppression," and said New Delhi's move to dismiss "the popular uprising" as the

work of infiltrators from across the ceasefire line "is a pathetic attempt at deluding the world." Praising the "heroic deeds of freedom fighters," the President said the heart of everyone who held the cause of freedom dear was "filled with respect and admiration for the valour of the people of Jammu and Kashmir."

INDIAN THRUST INTO LAHORE SECTOR

(1)

The most glorious hour in the history of India

PAKISTAN'S PROVOCATIONS

India-Pakistan fighting caused concern in certain world circles. On September 2, U Thant, United Nations Secretary General appealed to both India and Pakistan for a ceasefire. He had realized that it was unjust and improper under Anglo-American pressure to withhold his report on Kashmir based on the findings of General Nimmo. On September 3 he presented it to the Security Council. He blamed Pakistan for infiltration. He admitted his failure to secure from Pakistan "any assurance that the cease-fire and the cease-fire line will be respected henceforth." The Security Council made a formal call for a ceasefire on September 4. India expressed its willingness to accept the ceasefire provided Pakistan withdrew from Chhamb and recalled its infiltrators from Jammu and Kashmir. India also wanted assurance that Pakistan would not be allowed future encroachments upon India. Pakistan bluntly rejected United Nations call and India's demands.

On the other hand Pakistani ambassador in Peking met Chou En-lai on 3 September. The New China News Agency reported that India had "whipped up tension in Kashmir." On September 4, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Chen Yi, flew into Karachi and held

consultations with Bhutto for six hours. Chen Yi supported the "just action taken by Pakistan to repel the Indian armed provocation." On the afternoon of 5 September Pakistani aircraft intruded across international boundary at Wagah near Amritsar and fired rockets at an Air Force unit. There were further violations over the same border later in the day by the Pakistan Air Force. They also bombarded Ranbirsinghpura and some other places in Jammu and Kashmir well away from the ceasefire line. Meanwhile heavy concentration of Pakistani armed forces with big tanks and armoured units was noticed all-along the 370-mile-long Panjab border with West Pakistan. According to intelligence reports Pakistani troops had dug in trenches and bunkers along the Lahore-Wagah and Lahore-Khalra roads, and repaired old bunkers. Intense military activity was observed near Sialkot, Narowal, Hudiara, Bhasin and Kasur. Some of the villages beyond the ceasefire line had been evacuated and occupied by Pakistani troops. On September 4 B. P. Chaliha, Assam Chief Minister, reported massing of Pakistani troops in certain sectors on the Assam-Pakistan border also.¹

INDIA'S JUST DECISION

It was obvious that Pakistan was preparing for the offensive against India on a big scale. This created a state in which defensive action restricted to Jammu and Kashmir could no longer meet the needs of the situation. Since the United Nations also has throughout accepted that the security of Jammu and Kashmir is the responsibility of India, the Government of India had no alternative but to give effective assistance to Indian forces by moving across the international border to stop Pakistan at the bases from which the attacks in Jammu and Kashmir were being mounted and supported. The Indian Government made it absolutely clear at the very beginning that the Indian thrust into Pakistani territory had been compelled by Pakistan's massive assaults. The Indian action was a defensive measure and wholly lacked in aggressive intent. This foresight proved true. Battle orders captured from Pakistanis later on showed that Pakistan had planned a three-pronged thrust into Panjab. Reliable indications were that Pakistan was to march on Delhi on September 10, 1965.

The question may be asked whether the entry of our troops into Pakistan for the purpose of preventing Pakistan from its aggressive acts can be considered as a lawful measure taken in self-defence. The preponderance of juristic opinion and the practice of states especially

of big Powers like the United States and Soviet Russia clearly provide an answer in the affirmative. In a war, where the primary objective of the aggressor is to exploit the weapon of terror, to destroy morale and to break the will of a nation to resist, the primary role of defence must be to intercept and to destroy attacking forces before they reach the vital targets. Hobbes says: "Every sovereign is compelled to exercise the right of self-defence against every other sovereign for the purpose of protecting the national domain and its essential boundaries." The U. N. Charter expressly provides that its provisions do not impair the "inherent right of individual or collective self-defence" of a state which is confronted with an armed attack. Marshal Stalin put it, "We must not allow a wild beast to crawl back to recuperate. We must follow it in hot pursuit and finish it off in its own lair." In an article entitled "Strategy for future war against Imperialism" published in the *Red Flag* on May 10, 1965, General Lo Juichina, the Chinese Army's Chief of Staff, observed: "The strategy of active defence does not stop with driving the aggressor out of the country, but requires strategic pursuit to destroy the enemy, at his starting point, to destroy him in his nest."

Prime Minister Shastri showed his greatness by permitting the Indian Army and Air Force to cross into Pakistan, but as in the case of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, he marred the brilliance of his decision by ordering the armed forces to refrain from capturing Lahore and Sialkot. Our military strategy and tactics were conditioned by two objectives—to attack and disperse Pakistan's troop concentrations, and to disrupt its communications at vital points. In the words of Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan: "As far as we are concerned, our action is limited to make Pakistan realize that we will not tolerate any interference with the territorial integrity of India of which Kashmir is a part. We have to prevent the mounting of any attack by the Pakistan military machine on our territories." It was decided that Indian forces would not capture great centres of population and inflict hardship on civilians. It was well-known that Pakistan's eastern wing was relatively less well defended. This vulnerability India had not sought to exploit.

The crossing of the Pakistan border by Indian army on the morning of September 6, 1965, was hailed all over the country as a "proud day for the Indian people." This was the first time in Indian history that Indian forces had taken up their position on enemy's soil. Long and thunderous cheers were heard in the Lok Sabha when

Chavan in the morning announced that Indian troops had crossed the West Panjab border of Pakistan and were moving in the direction of Lahore. "This is the finest news we have had in recent years," said several members while talking to newsmen in the central hall of the Parliament. With abated breath, the people in the capital listened to the dramatic announcement by All India Radio in the afternoon, that Indian troops had marched on Lahore. Immediately afterwards crowds outside newspaper offices and at other vantage points broke out into full-throated acclaim. Such a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm, as was witnessed on that day, had never been seen before. The whole city throbbed with excitement. Jammu and Srinagar were wild with joy as the news broke out. The people danced in streets and shouted slogans like "Bravo our armed forces", "long live India" and "crush the enemy." The U.P. Assembly burst into applause at this news. Bombay went gay. Crowds virtually mobbed hawkers when the evening papers came out with banner headlines about the progress on the battle front. In Calcutta, excitement ran high all over the city. Jubilant callers kept the telephones in news agency and newspaper offices buzzing non-stop. In Panjab border villages the headmen stood by the roadside with garlands and baskets of *laddus* (sweets) to welcome the *jawans* as they crossed the border.

PAKISTAN DECLARED EMERGENCY

In a broadcast from Pakistan radio in the afternoon, President Ayub said: "We are at war with India." He declared a state of emergency and cancelled all army leave. The President said Indian forces had crossed the international frontier without a formal declaration of war. "The time has come for us to give them a crushing reply." The President appealed for determination by the people of Pakistan. "We are prepared to strike and strike hard against the evil which has raised its head", he said. He continued: "The Indian rulers do not yet realize what people they have taken on. Dedicated to their faith and convinced of the justice of their cause they will fight as one man in the name of God whose promise to mankind is that right is all triumph." An official spokesman in New Delhi said that neither India nor Pakistan had declared war on each other.

WAS PAKISTAN ENTITLED TO FOREIGN HELP ?

Pakistan's foreign minister, Z. A. Bhutto, told a midnight (6-7 September) press conference at Rawalpindi that he had sent a communication to the President of Security Council informing him that Pakistan would exercise its right under Article 51 of the U. N.

Charter of individual and collective self-defence. He added that Pakistan had invoked the CENTO and SEATO security agreements in face of Indian aggression. He said that approaches for military assistance were being made to all countries with which Pakistan had multilateral or bilateral pacts. Among the countries approached for help were Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Iran, he continued. He further stated that Pakistan was asking for "tangible support."

The British Prime Minister immediately responded to Pakistan's call. He was the first to denounce India and express "distress" at Indian action. He falsely believed that the State of Jammu and Kashmir was not a part of the Indian Union. In that event Pakistan's infiltration and army attacks in Kashmir were different from India's crossing the international border. His view was shared by other Western Powers. In the Security Council an attempt was made through Malaysia to distinguish between the Pakistani attack in the Chhamb sector and the crossing of the Panjab border by the Indian Army. Though the attempt was given up in the face of strong Indian objection supported by the Soviet Union, international opinion guided by Britain by and large held the view that it was India who had escalated the armed conflict with Pakistan. Yet in spite of all this, it remains perfectly true that the decision to cross the Panjab border was the most upright and just one.

In all realism, President Ayub Khan could not expect any help both from his Western and Eastern allies. China alone could help him indirectly. China could increase the strength of its forces along India's northern frontiers. This would certainly divert the attention of India's defence forces from the task in hand. Peking was not expected militarily to intervene on Pakistan's behalf. Its Western allies could not help Pakistan on the basis of its military pacts. There was no obligation on the part of its declared allies to give assistance as a matter of course. As far as known to the world, Pakistan entered into two military pacts. The first is the Manila pact of the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) dated 8 September 1954. Its members are Philippines, Thailand, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, France, the United Kingdom and the United States. The operative part of the Manila pact is as follows: Article IV (1). Each party recognises that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against anyone of the parties or against any state or territory which the parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate,

would endanger its own peace and safety, and agree that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations. Under this clause there has to be an aggression first. But in Kashmir case it was Pakistan which initiated infiltration and launched indirect attack.

The second is the pact of the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) dated 24 February 1955 which includes Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and the United Kingdom, with the United States cooperating as a non-member. The operative parts of the CENTO Pact are as follows :

Article I : Consistent with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter the High Contracting Parties will cooperate for their security and peace. Such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this cooperation may form the subject of special agreement with each other.

Article II : In order to ensure the realization and effect application of the cooperation provided for in Article I above, the competent authorities of the High Contracting Parties will determine the measures to be taken as soon as the present pact enters into force. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the High Contracting Parties.

The CENTO provisions are even more general and non-committal than those of SEATO. When these pacts were signed the NATO had been in existence for five years. Pakistan was one of the countries which demanded that an imperative, automatic form of assistance should be incorporated in SEATO and CENTO as in NATO. This was not agreed. The NATO has a clear operative provision.

Article 5 : The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties such action as it deems necessary, including the use of

armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

(2)

Wagah-Dograi

Lahore is 34 miles from Amritsar. Wagah on the India-Pakistan border is 15 miles from Amritsar. Dograi is 6.5 miles from Wagah as the town stands between milestones 12 and 13 from Lahore. The eastern bank of the Ichhogil canal is marked by milestone 12. Before partition Dograi was known as "Jallo ka Mor." The industrial town of Jallo is about a few hundred yards farther across the canal. It has a Bata shoe factory in a colony called Batapur. A mile to the south of Batapur is the resin factory of Jallo and a textile mill. Two miles onwards is the transmitter of the Lahore radio station. Four miles farther are the Shalimar Gardens and the Government mint. Four and a half miles ahead is the General Post Office situated in the heart of Lahore. The Model Town is also at a distance of four miles or so.

Lahore, the second biggest city of West Pakistan after Karachi has a population of 12 lakhs. It is the capital of West Pakistan and the headquarters of West Pakistan railways. It is the most important industrial town with the railway workshop which employs 10,000 industrial workers. Lahore is the centre of the political and cultural rulers of Pakistan, the Panjabi Muslims who have seized all political and financial powers since the withdrawal of the British. It is the junction for a number of vital roads, rail and air connections. It has a big and important cantonment. There lived a large number of foreigners including about a thousand Americans and half that number of Englishmen. President Ayub was often quoted as saying that the defence of East Pakistan lay in Lahore from where armies would march on Delhi. There are three highways connecting Lahore with the East Panjab border. The first road and railway run from Lahore to Dograi, Wagah and Amritsar. This is the Grand Trunk Road. The second road and railway pass from Lahore through Burki to Patti. The third group connects Lahore via Raiwind and Kasur with Ferozepur.

NATURE OF FORTIFICATIONS IN LAHORE SECTOR

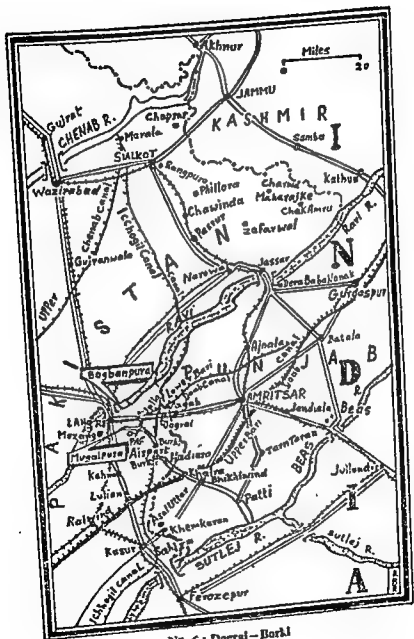
(i) ICHHOGIL CANAL. Pakistan had built about 1956 formidable defences in this sector with a view to checking Indian advance in

case of a Pakistani invasion of India. The strongest fortification was the Ichhogil Canal.² This canal is the anti-tank device against India. Its water was not used for irrigation purposes, as the area around it lay barren. It is taken off from river Chenab near Marala headworks, a few miles to the north-west of Sialkot. It runs southwards and crosses the Ravi some miles above Dera Baba Nanak. It flows at a distance of about 10 miles from the city of Lahore. The canal divides Dograi town into two parts, runs west of Burki town, flows east of Kasur between the town and the Indian boundary line, and ultimately joins the Dipalpur canal farther south. This canal is 45 miles long, 104 feet broad and 15 feet deep on the Indian side and probably about 20 feet on the western side. Its banks and beds are made of cement. Its steepness and depths are a clear indication of the fact that if a truck or tank falls into it, it cannot be taken out except with the help of cranes. Both the banks have brick and cement walls. On the western bank, the bund is much bigger with ramps for tanks to move. The bund and the ramps are to serve as obstructions in the way of invaders. It has at every 200 yards on both sides a pillbox. All along the canal on the western side are said to be underground gun positions. It has bridges over it at several places, particularly on the Grand Trunk Road at Dograi, on the Lahore-Khalra road at Burki and near Kasur. The villages along the canal were converted into army posts. The villagers were trained as soldiers and were supplied with arms. Many houses in Dograi and Burki had three walls on the side of India, and only one wall towards Pakistan.

(ii) **PILLBOXES.** Simultaneously with the construction of the Ichhogil canal, pillboxes were built. They were constructed on the most modern scientific lines and were considered impregnable. The pillboxes were first built by Germans in World War I. This Pakistani bastion consisted of only one small room 10 feet long, 5 feet broad and 8 feet deep, half above and half under ground. It had two-foot-thick walls and four-foot-thick roof heavily concreted, raised on steel plates and iron bars. The structure was impervious to bombs and shells. Bombs of 1,000 pounds would strike against these pillboxes and would burst without injuring it. It had a small door made of thick steel sheet and could be bolted from inside. Iron berths were provided for three persons to sleep on. Of the three men one manned a medium machinegun, another a brengun and the third an automatic rifle. American artillery was installed in these pillboxes. The machinegun fixed in it discharged 2,500 bullets per

Basant Singh, a Sikh Afghan national and cloth merchant of Kabul and his associate in business, Hukam Singh, had business relations with Pakistani merchants. They arrived at Lahore from Kabul on September 5 and stayed at *Gurdwara Dera Sahib* with the *Gurdwara* priest, the only Sikh living in Lahore. They returned to Kabul on 9 September. On the morning of September 6 when the Indian forces crossed the Indo-Pakistan boundary at Wagah and other places, they saw a large number of people of the border areas of Pakistan entering Lahore in a state of utter confusion. The Indian bombing and shelling of the Cantonment outskirts caused a good deal of panic among the residents of Lahore. The people fled by any conveyance they could get—cars, buses, tongas, bicycles and even country carts loaded with their belongings. Some even went on foot. During their stay in Lahore they listened to Pakistan Radio. They were told that the Pakistani armed forces had destroyed part of Amritsar and pushed the Indians behind.⁵ The people from border villages occupied uninhabited houses and looted their property. Peterson in an article published in the London *Guardian*, in its issue of October 5, 1965 said that when Indian forces marched into Lahore sector, 5,000 Pathans after travelling for 300 miles, attacked Lahore, and plundered it. They were expelled by the Pakistan Army. As a matter of fact, 15,000 tribals had been kept ready to march into India to loot, rape and massacre Indians. They were stationed at Raiwind. They were to serve as Pindaris in Maratha army of the eighteenth century. On hearing that Lahore lay deserted they fell upon the city to plunder it. A BBC correspondent who visited Lahore after the Indian attack reported that he had seen a steady stream of refugees leaving in thousands. They were carrying their belongings in bundles. There were no civil flights in and out of the city.⁶ More than 250 British women and children were taken to Rawalpindi in convoys. Forty-two West Germans left by road for Kabul, and 122 Japanese, mostly women and children, reached Tokyo by a Government chartered plane. About 700 American women and children were removed by air with India's approval for not shelling the Lahore aerodrome which was within range of Indian guns.

The cantonment of Lahore was on the back of Colonel Hyde. He observed swift movements of huge formations of army including hundreds of tanks. He realized the delicate nature of his situation. In a moment he was about to be surrounded on all sides. Just to



No. 6 : Dograi - Borki

save his men from sheer destruction, he immediately retreated. He was hotly pursued by the enemy. He halted at the Indian border⁷, and Pakistani troops entered our territory. Hyde received the very first military award, Maha Vir Chakra, for his dash both ways. Ranian is a small military post 9 miles north of Wagah, one mile inside Indian territory. Pakistani forces supported by tanks captured it. They seized another village Munjh, but Indian forces held them there. Colonel Hyde spent a fortnight in ding-dong battles on the seven-mile-stretch between Wagah checkpost and the canal. The hub of the enemy defences was Dograi. On 17 September Indian troops fought a battle in Munjh village, and the enemy pulled out leaving behind a Sherman tank intact with 76 mm gun which could shoot from a distance of 2,000 yards. Ranian was recaptured immediately afterwards. Advancing farther, Indian forces secured two Pakistani villages, Ichhogil Hathar and Ichhogil Uthar, and established themselves within 500 yards of Ichhogil canal bridge. The Indian action deprived the Pakistani forces of the use of a part of the eastern bank of the canal.

THE BATTLE OF DOGRAI

Lt. Colonel Hyde was ordered to recover his lost ground. The attack was made on the midnight of 21-22 September, 1965. The Indian forces striking at the front on the Grand Trunk Road met with stiff resistance. The Pakistani positions were strongly held with mine fields protecting their flanks, anti-personnel mines on one side and anti-tank mines on the other. As the frontal attack was in progress, a reserve column of tough Jats under the command of Major Asaram Tyagi was brought in. They made a detour of 6,000 yards in pitch dark and pressed across the anti-tank mine field to attack Dograi from the north-east. The operation was conducted in the face of intense shelling and machinegun fire. Three Pakistani tanks blocked their way. Major Tyagi got two gunshot wounds. Though he was seriously injured, he continued his assault and personally destroyed the crew of the three tanks with hand-grenades. Thus all the three tanks fell into our hands intact. Major Tyagi received in all five bullet wounds. The Jats shouting *Jai Bhagwan, Jat bare balwan* fearlessly pushed ahead.

A young captain in Tyagi's platoon felt inspired by Major's personal bravery. It was almost impossible to make any progress in the face of terrible fire poured out of the pillboxes on the canal bank. The captain led his men through the heavy downpour of 2,500 bullets per minute. Two young soldiers, one Madrasi and the other a Panjabi crawled on the ground over a long distance, and safely reached the

two pillboxes. They went on the backside of one and kicked at the steel door. Surprisingly, it had not been bolted from inside. It flung open, and grenades were at once thrown in. The gunners were killed and guns immediately silenced. On seeing this the Pakistani gunners in other pillboxes thought they had been attacked by a large body. They deserted their posts and fled back across the canal. But the two heroes had been spotted by an enemy soldier on guard nearby and both of them were shot dead. Next morning their bodies were picked up near a pillbox with grenades still clutched in their hands. The daring, valour, patriotism and spirit of sacrifice of these young men who laid down their lives so cheerfully at the feet of mother India will shine as noble examples for all times to come. Such heroic deeds remind us of the Rajput chivalry in medieval times. Tyagi's troops reached Dograi at 3.30 a. m. on September 22. The Jats fought fiercely against the Pakistani troops stationed at Dograi, and pushed them across the canal milestone 13. The Pakistani forces fighting in front were not even aware that their rear had been cut. The fighting ended with the first light on September 22, after six hours' bitter fighting. The Indian troops were in complete control of the Dograi town.

Pakistanis lost the entire crack battalion, 16th Panjab with all its equipment and supporting armour including a squadron of tanks and a battery of artillery. The Commanding Officer of the Pakistani battalion, Lt. Col. G. F. Golewala, Major Hashim Baig, the Battery Commander, four subedars, 101 infantry men and a Company Commander in all 108 men were captured. Three hundred and five bodies of Pakistani soldiers were collected later in the morning. Six enemy tanks were destroyed and six were captured in perfect running condition. The major part of the Jat regiment was killed and wounded. Soon after enemy stragglers were cleared from the surrounding countryside. The Pakistanis while fleeing back to the other side of the canal blew up the bridge in a bid to stop the advance of Indian forces. The Tricolour was hoisted by the side of a Pakistani pillbox on the Ichhogil canal, and a sentry stood guard under the Indian flag. Major Asaram Tyagi could not survive his wounds and died in a military hospital. He was awarded Maha Vir Chakra posthumous.

Pakistani authorities had assured the people in Dograi area that Indian forces would not be able to make any headway along the Grand Trunk Road. Consequently they remained undisturbed in

beds, while one of the fiercest battles was fought just 200 yards from the Dograi village. When our troops entered the village they found that the people were absolutely unaware of our presence. Some took to flight while taking tea, others were seen in the neighbouring fields where they had gone to ease themselves. An officer and his family were fast asleep. When our soldiers knocked at the door of his house, he came from his bed in sleeping *pajama* and *bunyan* (underwear only) as if he were coming to receive his guests. He along with all the members of his family was arrested. In this way large numbers of civilians were taken prisoners. Later in the day all men, women and children were loaded in trucks and brought to the canal bank. The Pakistani army officers on the opposite bank were asked to take charge of their people. They came in boats. When the Pakistani families had been boarded, an Indian Major who was standing alone looking at this spectacle, was also pushed into a boat. His mouth was gagged and seven or eight Pakistanis sat on him, and rowed away. The next day Indian forces in Dograi permitted Pakistani troops to remove their dead. The Pakistani officers and soldiers expressed admiration and respect for our fighting qualities. One of their officers asked: "Have you any guided missiles?" The Indian officer replied: "Like you we don't have any friends to give us." The Pakistani officer said: "The way you shot at us, we thought you had."

SCENCE AFTER THE BATTLE

A party of newsmen including some foreign correspondents visited Dograi a couple of days later. They found the whole area littered with war material including wireless sets and U.S. made anti-tank ammunition. Electric poles and wires lay broken on the ground. Many trees had been uprooted while others were shorn of their branches. Fields had deep large pits made by gun balls. The Bata shoe factory was situated on the western bank and its show room and sales office was on the eastern bank of the Ichhogil canal. The newsmen found everything lying intact. Bata shoe shop was full of shoes and boots. Close by a shop of betel leaves and cigarettes lay untouched by our *Jawans*. CocaCola bottles, tins of ghee, provisions and other stores were safe in other shops. The houses though deserted had everything as left by their occupants. Blankets, beddings, utensils, boiling pots on hearths and cooked food lay where they were. The lasting goods and property were made over to the Pakistani authorities. Dograi was visited by thousands of people from Amritsar.

and neighbouring places. The visits were forbidden after some time as some visitors had lost their lives by the bursting of mines.¹⁹

(3)

Khalra-Burki

ADVANCE ON, BURKI TOWN

The second thrust started from Khalra towards Burki. It stands on the main road running from Lahore to Pattī, 500 yards away from the eastern bank of the Ichhogil canal. It is about 10 miles from Dograi. It had a population of 10,000, and was a stronghold of the Muslim League before partition. Even in the pre-partition days this area was notorious for bad characters. Its police station had always been entrusted to the charge of the most daring and capable police officers. After partition Burki became the greatest centre of smuggling between West and East Panjab. It was reported that Asghar Muhammad of Budhana village near Burki now living in the bungalow of General Shiv Charan Singh who migrated to India in 1947 was the king of smugglers. A report stated that he had smuggled into India gold worth ten crores of rupees.²¹

Major-General Har Krishen Sibal was in charge of this area, while the tank operations were entrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Anant Singh. Indian Army had to advance from the Khalra side. The first village to be captured on this march was Jahman.²² None in the Army knew the path leading to the village. An Army commander sought the help of local police. The policemen were also unaware of the exact route as they had never penetrated into Pakistani territory. The police traced Sajjan Singh, farmer of Rajoke village and a great smuggler, who was quite familiar with the Pakistani villages in the neighbourhood. He was sought at dead of night of September 5-6. He gladly undertook to show the way to the troops on a probing mission. Sajjan Singh wore a military uniform and accompanied two soldiers. They went two miles deep into Pakistani territory in the direction of Jahman village. They saw a Pakistani soldier armed with a machinegun. Sajjan Singh left behind his two companions, quietly reached the Pakistani soldier, hit him on the head with his steel helmet and snatched his machinegun. By that time the two soldiers had also arrived close to the scene. Pakistani soldier opened fire with his rifle and killed one Indian soldier. The other soldier killed the

Pakistani trooper. They returned with the machinegun to Indian territory.¹³

The column proceeded from Khalra at 6 a.m. on 6 September. They captured Jahman and a couple of other Pakistani villages. As our troops advanced along the tarred road leading to Lahore from Khalra, the villages were evacuated by Pakistani troops. Hudiana and Nurpur villages of about 10,000 people each already possessed a large number of soldiers and had been converted into a sort of cantonments. The Hudiana drain, 140 feet wide, impeded our progress. The bridge had been blown up by the enemy, and on the other side of the drain the Pakistanis were strongly entrenched. The drain banks were covered with machineguns. The enemy resistance was so strong that our forces could cross the drain at 2.30 p.m. on September 7 after 32 hours. There was quite a bit of street fighting in the Hudiana village. The other pockets of Nurpur, Bedian, Theh and Tricholian were cleared.

Pakistani forces took up positions outside Burki Khurd and Burki Kalan 1½ miles north-east. As our forces advanced, the enemy started a barrage of heavy artillery fire. The whole area was inundated by Pakistanis to prevent Indians' smooth advance. The paddy fields were full of water. Indian army officers required volunteers to cut the paddy and long grass to make it possible for the troops to march forward. Such was the enthusiasm of the border villagers that within minutes a 500-strong volunteer force of farmers from the border villages of Modis, Dall and Daliri led by their sarpanches Hardyal Singh and Kashmira Singh flocked to the site with sickles. Enemy shells were falling around and near them. Bombers boomed over their heads. But these courageous volunteers did not fail or falter till the whole four to five miles long area was cleared and made fit for the safe and smooth transit of the Indian troops.¹⁴ Many trucks had also been engaged to carry supplies to the front line. One truck driver reached Burki by a zigzag route in the night earlier than its occupation by our forces. He was probably murdered, as only the half-burnt empty truck was found lying near the police station. "The bravest of the brave soldiers were the truck and *rehriwalas* who did a magnificent job", a military officer in this area remarked. The enemy fought for every inch of its territory from hillocks, mounds of earth and pillboxes. The Drain was literally full of dead bodies. Truckloads of these bodies were removed by the enemy. Burki Kalan was captured at 7 p.m. on September 7.

THE TOWN CAPTURED

For three days, on 8, 9 and 10 September the Pakistani artillery fire was so intense that our forces could make little progress. But our troops were determined to capture Burki and the bridge over Ichhogil canal. They launched the assault at 8 o'clock on the night of 10-11 September. They had to face the most intense barrage of artillery fire ever experienced by them. Our troops deployed tanks for the first time at night as shock tactics. The enemy used anti-tank guided missiles for the first time since the current hostilities had begun. The missiles caused havoc in our ranks by the chemical explosive material they carried. The chemical missiles hit targets at short range very successfully. They were fired from the ground and from aircraft.¹³ The fighting involved both infantry and tanks. The tanks churned up a dust storm as they madly raced into battle. The dust and smoke and the darkness of the night had all combined to make visibility very low. The monstrous flaring of tanks and blaring of artillery provided guidance in the battlefield shrouded by haze. The Indian Air Force was constantly overhead, bombing enemy emplacements and trenches. The Pakistanis put into action everything, even the tanks under repair, to check the Indian advance. Equally determined were our forces to break through the enemy defences. When a Pakistani Sabre jet was hit and it was coming down, there was the deafening noise of "hurray" from our men. The bailed pilots were immediately captured.

The steadiest and deadliest fire was coming from two pillboxes at Burki. Havildar Ajmer Singh tied a number of grenades round his body and crawled from a field about 200 yards away to one pillbox and lobbed a grenade which blasted the three occupants. He was awarded Vir Chakra. To destroy the other pillbox two men tied grenades all around their waist and started crawling from different directions. One of them attracted the pillbox fire towards himself and was shot dead. The other, Sepoy Balam Ram of Mandi in Himachal Pradesh, stealthily crept to a side of it. He dropped a grenade through a slit inside killing all the three men instantly.¹⁴ He received Vir Chakra. Later in the thick of the battle, Lance Havildar Gurdev Singh got on the roof of a pillbox, bent over its edge and holding a couple of grenades in his hands, shouted in Punjabi: "Hey, you, come out at once with your mother on your head!" Immediately a soldier emerged and placing the machinegun

on his head asked for the orders. His other companions were killed inside the pillbox. Gurdev Singh received Vir Chakra. From another pillbox a Pakistani havildar came out crying: "Please spare my life. I will give you very useful information." Men in the other ten pillboxes took to their heels. Subedar Ajit Singh charged an enemy gun emplacement. He was struck with bullets from a medium machinegun in the chest. But undaunted he went on, lobbed a grenade and destroyed the enemy gunpost. After the battle he expired. He received Maha Vir Chakra (posthumous). Lance Naik Pritam Singh, fell upon an enemy machinegun post, killed a gunner with stengun and bayoneted the other two. Then he attacked another bunker furiously. He was shot dead by the enemy. His last words were: "We will not stop till Burki is captured." He was awarded Vir Chakra (posthumous).

The way now seemed clear to storm Burki. But the enemy dropped napalm bombs to crush opposition. This did not soften the determination of our men. They dogged on. The enemy illuminated the entire battlefield with star shells and flares. At this time intense hand-to-hand fighting was going on along the main road close to the town. The Pakistanis demolished a building and collected bricks and stones to be used against Indians inside the town. Three officers displaying tremendous leadership and drive got into an open jeep and guided our tanks which had no eyes to see at night and had strayed into fields mined by the enemy. The town of Burki was captured at 9.30 on the night of September 10-11. All the civilians had fled except three very old persons—a woman and two men of nearly 100 years. These three old people were properly looked after by our soldiers.¹⁸ The next phase was the capture of the bridge on the Ichhogil canal. Ignoring murderous hail of bullets, a colonel led his men for a further thrust and got on to the side of the bridge on the eastern bank at 11.15 p. m. But he was robbed of success as the enemy blew up the bridge. The battle in the area between the canal and Burki town was fought with such ferocity that three Pakistani officers were wounded while eight other ranks were killed and 23 wounded. The Tricolour was hoisted high up over the Burki police station building.

In the battle of Burki in all 45 Pakistani soldiers were killed. On the Indian side one officer, two junior commissioned officers were killed and 47 other ranks were killed or wounded. The haul of Pakistani ammunition at Burki was impressive and came in handy for Indian forces to replenish their own stocks. The arms captured

included two recoilless guns, two medium machineguns, three light machineguns, two rocket launchers, one two-inch mortar, 60 rifles, five stenguns, two wireless sets and one Chaffie tank. Eight double-deckers also fell in the hands of Indian armed forces. Battered vehicles, intertwined electric wires, broken trees and hundreds of holes in the buildings and pits in fields, mines, live bullets and unexploded bombs marked the site of the battlefield. An iron file picked up bore the marking "Made in the People's Republic of China." Our troops had to overcome opposition in eighty villages of Burki. These villages mostly belonged to ex-service men. They also had been fortified with concrete bunkers. The inhabitants had been provided with arms and ammunition including hand-grenades. Even women had been trained to use grenades. A good lot of them was recovered from several houses in every village, though most of the people had fled away.²⁰ Only two men and three women, all aged and infirm and one child were left behind in Burki area. All of them were properly looked after by the *jawans*.

(4)

Khem Karan—Kasur

The third column marched from Khem Karan. It is a town in Amritsar district, 43 miles from Amritsar, seven miles from Kasur, and only three miles from Indo-Pakistan border on the railway line running from Amritsar. The Bari Doab canal, the perennial irrigation canal which takes off from the left bank of the Ravi and waters the area between the Ravi and the Beas, flows near the town. In 1947 a huge refugee transit camp was established here as in many other border towns. The town of Kasur is four miles from the Indian border. It is the terminal of the rail and road link to Raiwind which lies on the Lahore-Karachi main railway line, 22 miles away.

PAKISTAN'S PLANS

Marshal Ayub had calculated that more than half of the Indian Army was tied in the eastern sector owing to the Chinese threat. The bulk of the rest was committed in Ladakh, Kashmir, Jammu, Sialkot and Wagah sides. The Kasur-Khem Karan side, never in the news and never considered important by Indians lay unprotected. According to documents seized from captured Pakistani officers, Pakistan had decided to open another front here. The enemy's plan was to acquire a base in Khem Karan, and then mount a three-

pronged attack. Nicknamed "Operation Talwar," it was considered as the biggest operation of Pakistan army. One column of armoured troops was to occupy Harike at the confluence of the Beas and the Sutlej. The other armoured column was to proceed from Khem Karan through Valtaha to Patti and from there bypassing Amritsar to Jandiala Guru 10 miles from Amritsar upto Beas and take possession of rail-road bridge over the river Beas. The bridge lies between Amritsar and Jullundur, 20 miles from Jullundur. The third battle-group was to cut off Jullundur and the road to Pathankot. Harike, Beas and Jullundur were to be captured on September 8, and Ludhiana on September 9. If the whole plan was executed, Pakistan would fight the fourth battle of Panipat.¹¹ President Ayub would then have a stroll and picnic in Shah Jahan's palace in the Red Fort on 10 September following the example of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. To lead the victorious march the Divisional Commander was personally to direct the operations, and share the honour. Had this scheme succeeded, a large chunk of Panjab including the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur and Kangra, Kapurthala, Jullundur and Hoshiarpur would have been under enemy occupation and our forces dangerously crippled. Besides the supply line to our forces in the Lahore sector would have been disrupted, and the forces there would have been in a state of siege. Jammu and Kashmir would have been lost. To realize this grandiose project, the enemy had mustered in Kasur area four regiments of Pattons, one regiment of Chaffes, and one Infantry division.

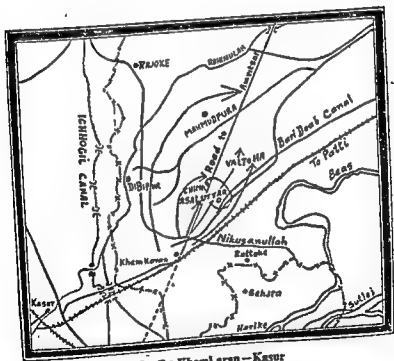
ADVANCE TOWARDS KASUR

The Indian force started from Khem Karan towards Kasur at 6 a.m. on September 6, 1965. It had penetrated into Pakistan only four miles when it was confronted by the 1st Armoured Division of Pakistan. It had moved from Raiwind-Chhanga Manga area to Kasur and then advanced towards Khem Karan to intercept our troops. The clash took place at about 11 o'clock near Dibipur situated at a distance of about 12 miles from Kasur, 6 miles from Burki and seven miles from Khem Karan. Bombardment from both sides lasted for seven hours. Indian progress was not only checked, but some of the villages occupied by Indian forces were recovered. A constant barrage of shelling continued throughout the night. On the morning of 7 September two columns of Pakistani Pattons advanced. One regiment kept us engaged, while the other tried to bypass our defence line to take to Patti. Major-General Gurbakhsh

Singh, in charge of this sector, and himself a resident of Ferozepur district, was quick to understand the enemy move. He immediately prepared his own master plan. He made a tactical withdrawal behind to a place from where both the routes to Harike and Patti could be protected. The Khem Karan area was purposely left unprotected and it was at once occupied by the enemy. The Pakistanis got the impression that the Indian forces were on the run, and this was exactly aimed at by Indian military authorities. They decided to lure the Pakistanis into the narrow belt lying between Rohi nullah on the north and Nikusa nullah on the south with the Bari Doab canal to the east. Inside this horse-shoe formation plenty of open space was left. The Pakistani army was to be allured into this area. Crops had been cut in this part so that Pakistani movements could easily be seen. Our tanks lay hidden in the beds of the two nullahs and in maize, millet and sugarcane fields on the outskirts.

The villages of Asal Uttar, Chima, Valtola, Chittikhui, Dibipur, Mahmudpura and Manawan are situated in this area. The people of these villages stuck fast to their hearths and homes in the midst of the greatest peril. Their patriotic spirit impelled them to provide our troops all support. Young boys climbed up trees to watch enemy movements and conveyed valuable intelligence to the military authorities. Men carried supplies, food and *lassi* in carts and tractors to the soldiers in trenches. Our forces dug up positions along both the nullahs and cut the banks of the canal to submerge under water the south-eastern region on the side of Khem Karan, which was then in Pakistani occupation. The centre of activity was the village Asal Uttar, 4 miles from Khem Karan.

The probing began on 8 September. Pakistanis attacked with two squadrons of Chaffers and one of Pattons. A Patton tank reached the village of Mahmudpura. Many others lay hidden in the neighbouring maize, millet and sugarcane fields. The tanks while approaching in this sector produced no noise as they had rubber treads. Jagat Singh, a resident of Mahmudpura stated that soon they heard the loud war cries of "*Ya Ali, Ya Ali*" of Pakistanis. Their shouts were greeted by volleys of fire from Indian tanks. The Pakistani tank in the village, just 30 yards from the nearest house was seen burning. Fire was ablaze in green fields. In a while the Pakistani crew were seen running back leaving their tanks behind. In half an hour the fight was over. Indian tanks and artillery took



No. 7 : Khemkaran - Kasur

a great toll of the "heavy weight champions" of Pakistan. Twelve tanks lay burning stuck up in water and mud. Three of them were half buried in one paddy field alone. Ten more lay in the other neighbouring villages. Pakistanis also lost heavily in lighter tanks.

TRIUMPH OF FOUR GNATS

After this engagement, on September 8, 1965, four Gnats were ordered to carry out an offensive fighter sweep over the Kasur-Raiwind sector. The formation consisted of three Flight Lieutenants-C. K. K. Menon-leader, A. S. Kullar, D. S. Nagi, and sub-section leader and Squadron Leader B. K. Bishnoi. The planes were loaded with rockets and front gun ammunition. The Hunters took off at 6 p.m., and flew very low between 50 and 100 feet above ground. The four pilots flew over the Raiwind railway station. They noticed a goods train just pulling in, with its locomotive in the direction of Kasur. They immediately guessed that the train was carrying military stores. The leader decided to attack the train. Just then the anti-aircraft guns opened up. All the four instantly spaced themselves evenly along the entire length of the train. Menon concentrated on the extreme left of the target. He released his rockets from about 500 feet. They struck the waggon, and the explosion lifted them off the rails and set them on fire. Kullar directed his attack on the middle left of the target. His rockets also hit their mark and turned that section of the train into a blazing inferno. Nagi's rockets hit home in the middle right of the goods train. Bishnoi fired his rockets on the extreme right from 400 feet. The waggon at the extrem right burned furiously. In a while the explosions started ripping the train apart, and the whole area was enveloped in smoke and flames.

The line of advance chosen by them was virtually in the middle of two strong positions that the Indian army had established. Brigadier Theograj, commanding Indian tanks, had given strict injunctions not to fire a shot until the entire enemy armoured division had come within their clutches. The jeeps of Indian army laden with recoilless guns advanced close to Pakistani armoured division. The heavy artillery fixed in the ground watched breathlessly the fire bulging Pakistani tanks advancing towards them. Then suddenly there was a burst of firing from the guns in jeeps and those buried underground. In no time Pakistan's 5th Armoured Brigade was crushed. After this enemy's 4th Armoured Brigade stepped in. Its left flank was bogged by cutting the Rohi nullah. It was attacked by our artillery, infantry and armour. The enemy was brought at bay. Then the whole armoured division was pushed into the fray.

Major-General Nasir Ahmad Khan, General Officer Commanding, Pakistan's 1st Armoured Division, was present in the battlefield. He directed on the wireless his commanders in the front line to advance. The forward commander pleaded his inability. The General appealed to him in the name of Islam and Pakistan. The Commander explained they were stuck up in mud. The Pattons while trying to move had dug pits 4-5 feet deep which were filled with water. On all sides they were surrounded by Indian tanks. The Indian artillery fire had made it impossible for them to advance. There was absolutely no chance to go ahead. The General told him that he was coming to help him. Our observation post had listened to this dialogue. They immediately informed our commanders to be on the alert for the General's tank. It was detected on the 43-mile-long road leading from Khem Karan to Amritsar at milestone 38. Our forces allowed it to proceed up to Chima village at milestone 36. It was then attacked on all sides by recoilless guns. All the occupants were killed instantly. Later our men intercepted the following wireless message : "*Hamare sab se bare Imam mare gaye.*" [Our highest chief has been killed.]

The regiment of Lt. Colonel Salim Caleb, a Muslim, was engaged in one of the fiercest tank battles against Pakistani Pattons and Shermans in the battle of Asal Uttar. "We let the enemy tanks come forward. We had an advantage over them. While they could not see us, we could spot the bigger and higher muzzles of their tanks through the fields," said the Colonel. The Pakistan Radio was encouraging its soldiers by repeatedly announcing, "This is our finest

hour, go ahead." As a matter of fact it was the finale of their Pattons, he remarked. The Colonel won Maha Vir Chakra.

In the battlefield of Chima Havildar Abdul Hamid of the 4th Grenadiers, a non-commissioned officer, was going in his jeep which carried a bazooka.³¹ He suddenly found a Pakistani Patton tank advancing towards him. He took up position behind a mound. Without losing his nerve before this dreadful giant of steel and fire, the brave Havildar fired his bazooka from a distance of 150 yards and the demon was enveloped in flames. Before he could wink his eyes he found another tank coming. Recoilless gun usually fires only once effectively. Without giving a thought even for a moment to this practice, Hamid discharged his bazooka which scored a big hit on its nose and left it bleeding. Meanwhile two other Patton tanks rolled to his side. Fearlessly turning towards these Abdul Hamid damaged one, but was fatally fired at by the fourth. With the name of Allah on his lips, he cheerfully laid down his life at the altar of his fatherland. Abdul Hamid received the highest gallantry award, Param Vir Chakra posthumously.³²

In the battle of Mahmudpura four tanks of Major S. C. Vadera fought against 22 enemy tanks. By evening he had destroyed seven. He had only one round of tank piercing shells left. He asked his Commander if he could withdraw to fetch shells. "Over your dead body", came the answer. Vadera drove out of the battlefield to fetch ammunition. His men kept the enemy covered with gunfire for two hours and a half. He returned long before dawn. By 4 a. m. the enemy was surrounded on three sides. Major Vadera captured one Lieutenant Colonel, two Majors and a number of other ranks along with their tanks. He was awarded Vir Chakra. Surjit Singh Havildar of Panjab Armed Police had quietly marched on the night of 7-8 September a couple of miles ahead of our troops, and arrived near the enemy camp. To watch enemy activities he climbed up a tree which happened to be fitted with a wireless set. He sat on this tree continuously for 72 hours, and went on supplying information about enemy positions and movements. He was promoted as Assistant Sub-Inspector and awarded a cash prize of Rs. 600. Sepoy Dhirpal Singh had knocked three tanks in five minutes.³³ Sepoys Jagdish Singh and Bhanwar Singh had repulsed an enemy attack led by three tanks and 100 infantry. Jagdish Singh was killed after knocking down two tanks.³⁴

By the evening of Friday, 10 September, the attacking Pakistani force had realized that their mission had failed. Many surrendered with alacrity which surprised our troops. Several others abandoned their machines before retreating. Some of them left engines running so that their fuel might run out by the time the Indians captured them. In the battles of Khem Karan Pakistan lost 97 tanks, of which 65 were Pattons, 17 Pattons were captured intact. The crew of 15 Pakistani tanks had deserted their armour before the tanks were captured. The crew of the other two tanks tied white flags to their gun barrels and surrendered. Four Sabre jets were brought down.²² In a 12-hour-battle, the Commander of Pakistan's First Armoured Division, Major-General Nasir Ahmad Khan and the Artillery Commander of the Armoured Division, Brigadier Ahsan Rashid Shami, were killed.²³ Two Lieutenant-Colonels, six Majors, six Captains and Lieutenants, and 53 soldiers were captured.²⁴

The battlefield of Khem Karan is rightly described as "Pakistan's Waterloo". This battle will go down in India's military history as one of our most decisive victories, because here our forces were outnumbered in armour by four to one. An area of 10 square miles where the historic battles of Khem Karan were fought was rightly named by our military authorities "the graveyard of Patton tanks." Lakhs of people in an unending stream visited this area as a place of pilgrimage in spite of the warnings and hazards. The entire region was littered with live unexploded bombs and other explosives. As a precautionary measure the military authorities acquired some land at Bhikhiwind, 23 miles from Amritsar, and about 20 miles from Khem Karan. There about eighty Patton tanks bearing Pakistani colours but of U.S. origin were brought together for visitors. All the tanks were either destroyed or damaged. A large number of broken parts were placed in two separate heaps. This place was first named "New graveyard of Patton tanks." After some time, it was called "Patton Tank Nagar."²⁵

A pro-Pakistani American weekly, *Time* in its issue of September 23, 1965, commented on this battle as follows: "The major Pakistani counter-attack was directed at the Indians around Kasur, which was chosen as the target because a Pakistani breakthrough would permit either a drive towards New Delhi or an attack northward that would cut across the Indian rear. The assault was mounted by the 1st Armoured Division, reputed to be the best in the Pakistani Army. The Indian strategy resembled that of Hannibal

when he caught the Romans in a baglike trap and decimated them at Canne. The Pakistani armoured column burst through the first Indian line and plunged on only to find itself entrapped inside a horse-shoe-shaped line of a well-fortified Indian position. Recoilless rifles, mounted on jeeps or dug into ground emplacements, poured a heavy fire into the massed Pakistani tanks. Support fire rained down from Indian 3.7 howitzers. With the temperature in the 100s, the buttoned down tanks were like ovens; the dust clouds raised by the explosions blinded the tankers, which milled about like a frightened herd."

Fighting did not stop here. Our forces made a slow and steady advance towards Kasur. A war correspondent present in the front on 11 September reported that the guns were belching flame and the Indian Air Force planes were roaring overhead. The air was thick with the continuous thunder of guns and the crash of bombs. The guns flashed continuously and coils of yellow cordite smoke curled into the air. Thirteen more tanks intact along with the crew fell into our hands and twice the number destroyed.²¹ On 12 September four enemy tanks were knocked out by the Indian Air Force. On 13 September in ground fighting Indian forces took a toll of four Pakistani tanks. IAF Hunter aircraft made several air strikes, destroyed enemy gun positions and strafed an enemy concentration in which about 50 Pakistani vehicles were set ablaze. The following day (14 September) 13 tanks and 34 army vehicles were destroyed during an attack on a Pakistani convoy on the Kasur-Lahore road. A bridge between Kasur and Lahore was damaged, and military stores at three railway stations in the area—Kasur, Raiwind and Kamoke—were destroyed. On 16 September Squadron Leader A.J.S. Sandhu chased a Pakistani Sabre at a height of 15,000 feet. By a skilful manoeuvre the *Gnat* got behind the enemy aircraft and kept closing in. When the Sabre tried to escape by a steep dive, Sandhu followed it in the dive and fired its guns at close range at a height of 500 feet from the ground. In a 10-minute-combat the aircraft, witnessed by hundreds of soldiers, crashed in a ball of fire.

Squadron Leader Denzil Keelor, elder brother of Squadron Leader Trevor Keelor, was engaged in a big tank battle strafing the Pattons with Flight Lieutenant V. Kapila. Narrating his experience he said: "I was escorting the section of four Mysteres to a target in the Kasur sector. When the Mysteres reached the target area, they were attacked by four F-86 Sabre jets. During the engagement, we

enemy fire. On another occasion four bombers were ordered to attack Sargodha airfield. After doing the job all returned safely to Indian territory. Just then one 25-year-old pilot of Agra discovered that two bombs were still lying with him. He immediately returned towards Pakistan territory to use them. He was overtaken by Pakistani Sabre jets and forced to land in a Pakistani airfield. He was about to touch the ground and the Sabre was close behind him. He immediately rose up, came over the Sabre, and let out both the bombs. One struck the Sabre and it burst out into flames. The other bomb hit another aircraft lying on the ground. He returned safely to the base. Songs were sung in praise of this brave pilot in the newspapers, but alas his name was not given out.

Pakistan had all the time asserted that the Indian Air Force attacks on Sargodha had proved abortive and the place remained absolutely intact. But on December 15, 1965, an advertisement was published in all the leading Pakistani papers by the Commissioner, Sargodha Division, inviting architects of Pakistan to submit designs for a memorial mosque to be built in Sargodha cantonment as a monument to the pilots and civilians killed there during the recent Indo-Pakistani hostilities. Could there be a better proof of our boys' heroic exploits? It was a confession of the successful bombing of Sargodha by Indian pilots.

OTHER AIRFIELDS

Indian planes bombed runways of the Chaklala airfield at Rawalpindi on September 7.⁶ Squadron Leader Jasbir Singh led a formation of four aircraft on 7 September to attack a target of military importance in West Panjab. He spotted a radar signal at a place 10 miles north of Gujranwala. He immediately dived down in the midst of heavy ground fire, and deliberately struck his plane against the radar unit which was seriously damaged. Jasbir Singh was killed. The other three Mysteres returned safely. Flying Officer D. P. Chinoy was piloting a Mystere aircraft on a daylight bombing sortie in Pakistan on September 10, 1965. With him there were two other planes bound for the same mission. They reached the target and reconnoitred it. The remaining account is given in Chinoy's own words: "My aircraft was hit by ground fire. It caught fire and my cockpit was burning and I ejected. As I was coming out by parachute, I was shot at by rifles. I could hear the heavy artillery guns firing behind me. The moment I landed, I ran and hid in the grass where I kept crawling north-west, keeping the sun towards my left—running from

one grass patch to another till I could not run any more. I heard some more rifle shots. I fled from there leaving behind some of my flying clothings and I kept running till I came across a villager—I don't know if he spotted me. The moment I saw him, I dived into the grass, and thought it wiser to wait till it was night. So, I lay down in the grass for a few hours. It was about 4 o'clock when I went into the grass and lay down there till 6.45 p.m. It was fairly dark then and I got out of my grass patch and kept going eastwards; then the moon rose. I kept walking and running for about five hours till I hit the main road. There, fortunately, I saw a well. I had about a bucket of water. Soon afterwards I saw some of our troops there. Had I not had the water, I would not have been able to talk to them."

On September 11, 1965, the official account of that day's operations made a special mention of the skill and bravery of Flight Lieutenant Hussain of the IAF. He piloted a Mystere aircraft in one of the raiding missions against Pakistani air bases. His aircraft was hit and badly damaged by enemy fire. Hussain skilfully piloted the machine back to Indian territory and baled out. He was picked up and was again ready for more sorties. In dashing raids on Pakistan's air bases at Peshawar and Kohat on the morning of September 14, Indian bombers damaged a number of Pakistan's fighter planes, military installations and fuel dumps. Pakistan fighter planes made vain attempts to intercept the Indian bombers over these places. On 16 September our bombers again pounded these air bases. The air base at Akwal is about 40 miles north-east of Mianwali. Our Canberras blasted some of its military installations on September 17. Chak Jhumra air base is about 60 miles west of Lahore and 50 miles south-east of Sargodha. It was raided by our Canberras on September 17. Another high-powered radar unit of the Pakistan Air Force was at Badin, 20 miles north of the Kutch-Sind border. It was one of those invisible eyes which looked deep into Indian territory. It was from this radar that Pakistan Air Force aircraft were directed in their fight over the Rann of Kutch during the operations in that area in May 1965. This unit also directed the planes which shot down the unarmed civil aircraft by which the Chief Minister of Gujarat was travelling on September 19, 1965. Our Canberras on September 21 disabled this air base by direct hits with rockets.

(2)

Role of Indian Navy

Pakistan's bombardment of two Indian ports, confiscation of our

made sure there was no enemy aircraft behind us and shot at the Sabre ahead of us. When it was hit, I saw it going into spin and crashing into the ground. I then attacked the second F-86 Sabre which was trying to get behind Flight Lieutenant Kapila. In the engagement, I closed in on the enemy aircraft and commenced firing from 600 yards. Soon after firing, I could see smoke coming out from his belly and I pressed home the attack. Kapila then made a small attack on the aircraft which was going down smoking and we then both cleared out of the area, convinced that both aircraft had been shot down.²³

In the Kasur sector a clash occurred on September 20. Six Chaffee tanks were destroyed. Seventeen Pakistani soldiers were killed and another 20 wounded. On September 21 there was again a skirmish in which Pakistani troops were badly mauled. Four enemy Sabre jets were shot down by ground fire on the same day. The Gorkha regiment which had fought at Dera Baba Nanak was sent to Khem Karan. On September 20, 1965 at 1.30 p.m. they engaged the enemy in a fierce combat which lasted up to 6 p.m. In the Kasur area Indian forces made significant advance and established a new strong point on the Rohi nullah. Seven enemy tanks were knocked out in the Kasur battles on September 22. The Pakistanis lost three F-86 Sabre jets to our ground fire in the Kasur area on this day. Our troops dislodged the enemy from the border posts near Ferozepur at Rangewala, Jallo Ke Dhuan, Jallo Ke Hathar, Dona Detu, Nathal Ke Gadda, Dharola, Killisao, Malsinghwala, Bore Ke Hathar and Urang. At the last named post, the Pakistani Rangers left behind their arms and ammunition.

Flight-Lieutenant K.C. Cariappa, son of the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General K.M. Cariappa, was captured by Pakistani troops on September 22, 1965, the last day of fighting before the ceasefire. His Hunter, a jet fighter, was hit by anti-aircraft fire over Khem Karan sector, and he was forced to bale out. In the Khem Karan sector on September 25, Pakistanis surrounded our thinly held position using troops and tanks. They tried to dislodge us from positions under our control. The town of Khem Karan was set on fire on the night of September 27-28, causing very severe loss of Indian property. In addition ten villages were set on fire in this sector between September 25 and October 5, 1965.

GRIM BATTLE NEAR BHAGAT SINGH'S *Samadhi*

Bhagat Singh, the great martyr hero of the Panjab in the last quarter of the British rule in India, was secretly cremated by the British executioners at a lonely spot far from Lahore about 200 yards away from the Husainiwala barrage. A *samadhi* was later on built here and people visited the place to pay their homage. This area went to Pakistan at partition in 1947, but the Panjab Government acquired it in exchange for another enclave given to Pakistan. In the first week of September Pakistani troops appeared at the border close to Bhagat Singh's *samadhi*, and started erecting observation towers and digging trenches. A contingent of Indian troops was despatched to protect the barrage from the evil designs of the enemy. The observation towers were smashed and the enemy was forced to retreat. The Pakistanis continued shelling the area heavily. But their attempts to destroy the barrage were foiled. On the night of September 19, the Pakistanis launched two fierce attacks in battalion strength supported by 18 artillery guns and a squadron of tanks in order to make an advance into India. Our *jawans* were short in number and of armour. They accepted the challenge and fought ferociously. After a grim battle the enemy retreated once again, leaving behind two tanks intact. The frustrated enemy lay in wait 100 yards away in an attempt to retake the tanks. But these hard won trophies were jealously guarded, and the enemy attempts were foiled. On the morning of 21 September a tank led Pakistani battalion attacked this border post again. It wanted to retrieve the two Sherman tanks. The attack was repulsed after capturing still another Sherman tank from it. The crew of the captured tank surrendered. Describing the heroic defence an army officer proudly pointing towards this spot remarked : "There is the *samadhi* of Martyr Bhagat Singh. Our two officers and more than 60 *jawans* have laid down their lives here while protecting our motherland."

GURDASPUR-SIALKOT SECTOR

(1)

Dera Baba Nanak

The fourth Indian column penetrated into Pakistan from the side of Dera Baba Nanak¹. The international boundary in Gurdaspur district runs along the Ravi and crosses it at several points. The road and rail bridge at Dera Baba Nanak went to Pakistan under the 1959 agreement. The Indian territory ends about a mile on the eastern side of the river. This gave the Pakistanis a vantage position. They could bring their forces across the river on Indian side. Pakistan had projected an armoured thrust to Gurdaspur and from there to Pathankot, the only great centre for rail-road communications with Jammu and Kashmir. Our forces were assigned the task of capturing the bridge on the river Ravi in Dera Baba Nanak area. The column moved from Gurdaspur at 4 a.m. on September 6, and reached the bridge at 6 a.m. The bridge was guarded by the Third Panjab Regiment and the Sulej Police Rangers. Our troops fought a tough battle with them at the bridge. Having suffered some casualties, the enemy withdrew to the western side of the Ravi leaving the bridge intact. Indian troops occupied both the ends of the bridge. In the afternoon the Pakistanis mounted a strong counter-attack. They were supported by heavy and effective tank and artillery fire. Their attack succeeded. Two of our forward positions were overrun, and Indian forces were hurled back. The

enemy brought medium tanks across the bridge. After dominating our defences, the Pakistanis proceeded to press us farther backward. The situation became desperate and withdrawal looked unavoidable.

On September 8 Lt. Colonel Chajju Ram was deputed to save the situation. On reaching the area of fighting, he immediately restored confidence in our troops. With firm determination, he made it clear that there was no going back and the enemy must be defeated. A night attack was launched against the enemy salient with great speed and determination. Lieutenant Surinderpal Sekhon led his men to attack the enemy tanks. Naik Mohindar Singh saw a tank with its booming guns heading towards them. Mohindar Singh skilfully got behind the tank in the twinkling of an eye, climbed on it and lobbed a hand-grenade down the hatch into its cockpit. The *Jawan* blasted his hand, but he was overjoyed to see the tank in flames. Indra Bahadur Gurung fought bravely on the bridge. The fierce fighting lasted five hours. In the encounter six Pakistani tanks were knocked out. Two of them were surrendered by their crew without a fight. The Pakistanis were thrown into confusion. They were frightened by the onward rush of our men. They hurriedly destroyed their own side of the bridge, only one span, as they were sure they would be pursued towards Narowal. They left behind large quantities of ammunition and equipment including four medium tanks and forty prisoners.

The 500-foot long damaged road-cum-rail bridge on the Ravi bore testimony to the cool courage of Lt. Col Chajju Ram and Lieutenant Surinderpal Sekhon, both of whom were awarded Vir Chakra. The citation for the Colonel said : "*His firm bearing, quick planning and determination for the conduct of the battle put heart in all ranks.*" The broken bridge prevented us from proceeding to Narowal and Pasrur, but it relieved us from the Pakistani threat to Gurdaspur and Pathankot. In consequence the Gorkha regiment was spared to join in the Khem Karan area. After two days of heavy fighting our troops took possession of a 56-foot high concrete tower situated two and a half miles across the international border on the other side of the river. This was used by Pakistanis as observation-cum-firing post. From this tower Pakistanis had frequently harassed the Indian border police post, and another picket at Mardana village. On September 23 at the time of ceasefire Indian forces retained possession of the Pakistani enclave across the Ravi, though the bridgehead was under Pakistanis.

(2)

Sialkot

PENETRATION INTO SIALKOT SECTOR

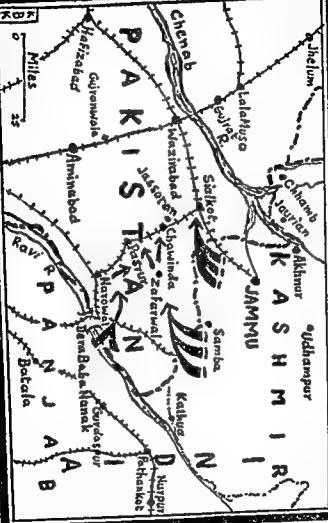
The next target of Indian forces on the north was Sialkot.* Sialkot town is the headquarters of Sialkot district. It stretches between the Ravi and the Chenab. This district is bounded on the north-west by Jammu, on the north east by Gurdaspur, on the south east by Lahore and on the west by Gujranwala. The town is 72 miles from Lahore and 27 miles from Jammu. A metalled road connects Sialkot with Lahore. Sialkot cantonment and city formed the main base for Pakistani attack on Jammu. Close to Sialkot is Wazirabad which is the main railway junction connecting Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi.

Lieutenant-General P.O. Dunn and Major-General Rajinder Singh Sparrow were in charge of the Sialkot sector. The Indian objective was to draw away the enemy from Chhamb and lock up its maximum armour and men in Sialkot area. The strategy employed for this task was three-fold : (1) To effect a lodgment in Pakistani territory astride the main Jammu-Sialkot road and also the Akhnur-Bajragarhi-Sialkot road ; (2) to tie down Pakistani forces in the Sialkot sector and prevent their movement in the area south of Sialkot towards Lahore ; and (3) to probe forward on the north and south flanks of Sialkot with a view to outflanking the main close defence system of Sialkot.

It was at 11 o' clock on the night of 7-8 September 1965, when two Indian columns crossed into Pakistan from Jammu and Samba sides. The Jammu column advanced towards Sialkot and the Samba force towards Zafarwal. Both encountered resistance from Pakistani rangers and people in some border villages. Our *jawans* seized many wireless sets, heavy civil and military vehicles, and also one truckload of American-made mines. The northern column moved by the side of Jammu-Sialkot road. On the morning of 8 September Indian forces were attacked by Pakistan artillery, two attacks of which were repulsed after a heavy bombardment lasting two hours and a half. Two Pakistani companies, supported by eight tanks, were pushed back near Suchetgarh. Five enemy tanks were captured. On 9 September Niche Bans, and on 10 September Uche Bans hill features commanding the entire countryside were seized. Thereafter Pakistanis

700

Miles
0 25



No. 8 : Sialkot Sector

withdrew into their defence fortifications around Sialkot, and apart from shelling did not attempt any counter-attack in the day. Indian forces reached the village of Salla situated about 4,000 yards from Sialkot Cantonment.

THE BATTLES OF CHARWA AND MAHARAJKE

The second column headed towards Charwa and Maharajke. Pakistan's Armoured Division was in Badiana and Paurur. Its infantry was concentrated on Maharajke side. The Indian objective was to keep them separated. Without armour support the infantry could be outweaponed, and Pakistani armour could be immobilized without infantry assistance.

In the attack on Charwa by Indian forces on the night of 7-8 September the enemy used the whole of his divisional artillery including heavy guns of 8-inch calibre, which were later found operating from pillboxes. The enemy guns were sighted in sugarcane fields. The forward companies of an infantry battalion failed to check the heavy machinegun, mortar and rifle fire. The battalion commander set an example of personal courage and leadership. He advanced to the foremost line of the assaulting troops and silenced the enemy though the commander sustained serious injuries. At a short distance a junior commissioned officer commanding a signals platoon found that the advance of one of the forward companies of the battalion to which he was providing communication facilities was checked by the enemy's medium machinegun and recoilless anti-tank fire. He crawled under the enemy's writhing fire and hurled grenades at the machinegun positions. The gallant officer was killed but the enemy position was overrun.

From Charwa the Pakistani forces fell back on Maharajke and took up position there. Our troops continued their advance. In fact, it was an extension of the battle of Charwa. The battle of Maharajke was fought on the morning of 8 September. When the enemy machineguns were belching fire, Indian Army engineers were quickly building roads and bridges across fields and deep ravines so that our vehicles and guns could move. The signals were laying communication lines. The personnel of the medical corps rendered assistance to the wounded right under enemy fire. The army supply corps kept the wheels moving to carry supplies to the front lines. In a sharp engagement the enemy was overpowered. He failed to make a dent in Indian positions. The Indian armed forces functioned like a well-oiled machine with remarkable efficiency. In Maharajke battle the enemy toll was about 100 dead, while nearly the same number were taken prisoners. In both the battles nine truckloads of small arms, 5 jeeps, 3 recoilless guns, 3 ambulances, and a lot of ammunition fell into our possession. On the morning of 9 September, an army officer in charge of tank operations, was moving to a forward position. He was accompanied by three men including Naib Subedar Mohammed Ayub Khan. The officer spotted three American-made Chasse tanks which opened fire on the party. The Officer sent a wireless message to artillery which soon went into action. Ayub Khan gallantly marched forward, threw hand-grenades and destroyed one tank⁴. Three Pakistani tanks and an American-made compass were brought as souvenir by this small party. Ayub Khan won Vir Chakra.

WORLD'S SECOND GREATEST TANK BATTLE

The main theatre of battle was now along the southern flank of Sialkot. It had a road system running from Sialkot to Zafarwal and a railway line from Sialkot to Pattr and Narowal. The main centre of military activity in this region was Phillaurah. To this place Pakistan's 6th Armoured Division had been shifted from Pattr side. This town was situated on the road between Sialkot and Zafarwal, and could be easily approached from Maharajke now in our hands. It lay seven miles south-west of Rabbirsinghpura from the Indo-Pakistan border north of Suchetgarh. The tidings of India's glorious success in the field of Khem Karan and the fall of Burki had reached our men on the Sialkot front. The destruction of Patton tanks had inspired everybody. They were resolved not to be left behind their comrades-in-arms in other fields. Dunn and Sparrow decided to take the fullest advantage of the situation.

Here was an opportunity for Major-General Rajinder Singh, Commander of the First Armoured Division, to add fresh laurels to his already well-established name as a strategist. The General deployed Indian armour between Aik *nadi* in the north and Degh *nadi* in the south. The tactics were also changed. The infantry was more active. To keep the tanks concealed the gunnery kept on pounding Pakistani positions. The ruse paid off highly. "Sparrow" sent a column of tanks supported by infantry towards Phillaurah on the morning of 11 September. Pakistan fielded nearly 100 tanks. There was thrust-and-parry and dust churning manoeuvring. The battle raged furiously. After a few hours Lieutenant-Colonel A.B. Tarapore, commanding a regiment of the Armoured Corps, was given the task of establishing a steel wedge between Phillaurah and Chawinda as a preliminary to the attack on Phillaurah. The enemy launched a sudden attack with heavy armour from Wazirwali. Tarapore defied the enemy's charge, stuck fast and delivered the attack from the left side. His regiment was ambushed by a Pakistani recoilless gun mounted on a jeep and hidden in a sugarcane field. His tank was badly damaged by an armour-melting flame from the recoilless gun. The Colonel manoeuvred to engage this gun and blasted it to bits with shells. He abandoned his damaged tank to keep track of enemy movements. Though seriously injured, he continued to conduct the operations.

As the steel claws of Indian armour closed round the enemy's tank harbour at Phillaurah in an unrelenting grip, Pakistani air force came to its rescue. In a closely-fought tank battle, it was difficult to distinguish one side from the other. A haze of dust hung over the battle zone, and the Pakistani planes attacked their own tanks to the utter dismay of the enemy ground forces. A few officers of the Pakistani armoured corps came in a helicopter to survey the battle raging below. The helicopter landed to let officers and aides assume command of the deteriorating situation. The helicopter was blasted with shell fire. The occupants of the helicopter were seen rushing for shelter in the sugarcane fields. The tank of Lieutenant-Colonel M.M. Bakshi was damaged by a Patton tank shell. With his revolver drawn, he jumped out and made a dash of several hundred yards to get into another tank, ignoring the small arms fire around him. He then engaged a Patton and put a shell through it. The Colonel left his damaged tank again and clambered on board a third which was also hit but not disabled.

The battle in all its fury lasted 12 hours. Our troops inflicted on Pakistanis the severest blow ever met by them in battle. In the

mighty clash of armour our ground forces without any air support knocked out 67 enemy tanks in the day's battle for the loss of only six. This was an unprecedented achievement of Indian forces at so little cost. The only other tank battle of such magnitude was fought by the great German General, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, "the Desert Fox" with his Afrika Corps supported by a powerful air force. In this he had taken a toll of 70 British tanks in the El Alamein battle at Sidhiparani in World War II from General Ritchie with the loss of 35 German tanks. Pakistanis left the battlefield firing in disarray while retreating in the evening. Some senior officers went up to Major General Rajinder Singh. They presented him with the signboard of the police station and said in a triumphant note : "Sir, Phillaurah is yours."⁵

After the battle a vast field nearly five miles in diameter lay littered with the enemy's much flaunted armour—Pattons, Chaffes, Walker Bulldozers, armoured cars and a variety of small arms. They were lying in the standing maize crop and sugarcane fields. The ghastly sight of systematic destruction of men and materials subdued the thrill of victory with the consciousness of the horrors of modern warfare. The following evening a group of Pakistani soldiers came there when an eerie darkness had enveloped the area to seize such tanks as could be salvaged. Our *jauans* lost no time in challenging them in a hand-to-hand fighting, and drove them away. Throwing light on this victory the officer commanding the tank operations in the area said : "The reason is simple. I have trained my men like pony horses. The standard of training imparted to them is very high, and above everything else they are a brave lot. On the other hand, the enemy is amateurish at his tanks and is not prepared to take risks." This was the Sixth Armoured Division of Pakistan consisting of five tank regiments with 96 Pattons, 96 Shermans and 48 Chaffes.⁶

A SUBALTERN CAPTURED 20 PAKISTANI SOLDIERS

On 12 September, Lakshmanan, a 22-year-old, subaltern of the Indian Army's Corps of Engineers who had put in less than two years of service gave magnificent proof of presence of mind and quick action. With three sappers he was given the task of blowing up a wall which was obstructing the onward movement of our troops. Armed with gun-cotton slabs and other explosives, the officer and his men, carrying a stengun and three rifles, made their way to the wall. They had blasted a part of it when they discovered some movement on the

other side in trenches with sands raised. Our *jawans* took up positions and opened fire. Subedar Suleman who had to his credit 29 years' service in the British and Pakistan Army came forward. He was wearing a khaki shirt, trousers and ammunition boots, and had no belt or cap on. He told the officer that his party consisted of 19 soldiers of the 9th Battalion of the Baluch Regiment of the Pakistan Army. They had taken cover on the other side. They were prepared to surrender with their arms. "Please stop pounding us with your guns and spare our lives." The officer and his men blind-folded and searched the Pakistani Junior Commissioned Officer and asked him to order his men to come out of their hiding places one by one without their arms. The rumble of two Indian tanks, which were passing that way further demoralised the Pakistanis who began to trickle out. The officer and his three sappers thus suddenly found themselves in charge of 20 Pakistani prisoners. By chance a truckload of cavalry men who were going that way arrived on the scene and gave a helping hand. The Pakistani officer and his men formed one of the three parties with a total strength of 50 men which had been assigned the task of infiltrating behind the Indian forward line to cut off communications.

FURTHER ADVANCES

On 13 September despite stiff enemy resistance in ground fighting and several raids by Pakistani Sabre jets and B-57 bombers on Indian front positions, Indian forces continued their advance. Two F-86 jets were shot down by our ground forces, and three Patton tanks were destroyed. Havildar C. Perumal displayed exemplary courage in shooting down a Pakistani jet aircraft with a machinegun. He was awarded Vir Chakra. There were two heavy engagements on 14 September when Pakistanis mounted attacks on two of our positions. Eleven Pakistani tanks were destroyed. Our forces were four miles north of Sialkot. Following a smart manoeuvre they turned south-east in an outflanking movement and captured the Sialkot-Pasrur railway line. Pasrur is 21 miles south-east of Sialkot on the line to Narowal near the Indian border. Narowal is linked by rail with Lahore. Fighting was growing tough due to Pakistan's use of eight-inch guns, the largest pieces of artillery produced in the United States. It resulted in the fiercest artillery encounters since World War II. This huge gun with a barrel 34 feet in length, weighs with its carriage more than 30 tonnes. It can fire a 236-pound shell as far as 20 miles at the rate of one shell per

minute. This gun was considered the Allied answer to the German 170 mm cannon during World War II. Cannon forms a formidable part of any modern artillery which consists of four divisions—guns, howitzers, mortars, and guided missiles. The possession of these American guns by a warring nation is considered decisive for winning a war even in modern times, when nuclear and unconventional weapons have outdated the conventional ones.⁷

BATTLE OF KALARWANDA

Kalarwanda is a small village of mud-built houses six miles from Sialkot. The tall church spire in the city was visible from here. On the night of 14 September some of our infantry without armoured support went up to the high ground. They were immediately attacked and were dislodged from their positions. After a fierce battle we recaptured the village on the night of 15 September. The enemy launched attacks in superior strength with strong artillery, armour and air support throughout 16 and 17 September. All his attacks were beaten back. The enemy left 70 dead in the battlefield and many were carried away. Three Chaffie tanks destroyed by us in the battle lay between the two armies. After the battle of Kalarwanda our forces decided to chase the enemy and engage his armour and troops. They avoided battle and seemed to hide in Sialkot. Our control extended to within 3½ miles of the city.

How would you feel if you were blown up about 40 feet high in the air and on landing found yourself one leg short, the missing leg staring down at you from a tree? Incredible as it may seem, this is exactly what happened to a 24-year-old tank wireless operator Hamidullah Shah of Srinagar on this occasion. He was travelling in a jeep with a lieutenant. The jeep was bombed about three miles from Sialkot. Hamid crawled some distance. He was soon captured by Pakistani soldiers. His guards dozed off. Hamid escaped. On his way back, he searched for his companions. He found the lieutenant unconscious, but the driver was in good shape. Hamid slung the young officer on his back. He was on one side of the railway track, and the driver was on the other side. In the darkness he stepped on a mine. It exploded under his feet. Hamid was rocketed upwards. When he landed, he saw his leg dangling from the branch of a tree. He lay there bleeding profusely for three hours before he was picked up by our *jawans*. He was operated upon and was left only with a stump of his right leg. The newsman ended his account thus: "Meeting Hamid and other wounded *jawans* today, I confess, was a

profoundly moving experience. Their guts, their determination, their bravery is admirable, inspiring."^a

On September 15 the Pakistanis bombed their own villages in Sialkot sector. They started these bombardments after they got the news that some United Nations Observers were about to visit the affected areas. They wanted to show that Indians were so cruel as not to make a distinction between civil and military targets. Apparently, a guilty conscience was pricking.

BATTLE OF CHAWINDA-NEW WORLD RECORD SET UP

Pakistan fought a last ditch battle on September 16 at Chawinda. It lies 15 miles south-east of Sialkot and is an important railway junction on the Sialkot-Pasrur line. This railway line had been outflanked by advancing Indian troops. Heavily dug-in Pakistani troops, buttressed by Pattons, Chaffes and Walker Bulldozers of the 6th Armoured Division got ready for another grim battle with Indian forces. They offered fierce and determined resistance. The Indian thrust was equally resolute. Our ground forces supported by four Canberras advanced towards Chawinda. They delivered a sudden, swift and stunning blow, and put out of action 14 enemy tanks in two and a half minutes. Major Bhupinder Singh was responsible for destroying five enemy tanks. The destruction of so many tanks in such a short space of time surpassed all previous records during World War II.^b Pakistanis out of desperation used anti-tank guided missiles and napalm bombs. They set the whole field ablaze. But our advancing forces refused to be cowed down by these inhuman devices. They made serious dents into the enemy's defences. Lieutenant-Colonel A.B. Tarapore was badly wounded in the battle of Phillaurah. Yet he again had led his regiment to capture Wazirwall on September 14. At Chawinda under his inspiring leadership, the regiment fiercely attacked the enemy's heavy armour, and destroyed numerous tanks at a small cost to themselves. Tarapore was enveloped in flames and died a hero's death. He was awarded Param Vir Chakra posthumous, the other highest award given for exceptional gallantry in this war. At the end of the battle 26 Pakistani tanks were destroyed and four captured in serviceable condition.

Another world record was also set up in the battle of Chawinda. The air battle^c was fought here at the lowest level possible. Two Indian Gnats attacked four Pakistani Sabre jets. The encounter was maintained throughout at a very low height. The Gnats engaged the

Sabres at a height of 1,500 feet, and the Sabres were pushed down to a height of 300 feet. Two Sabre jets were shot down. One Gnat was lost. The planes of both the countries fought below the radar effective area.

A P.T.I. correspondent visited the battlefield of Chawinda on September 18, two days after the battle. He wrote: "I saw a vast field littered with the enemy's much flaunted armour-American tanks of various sorts, armoured cars and a variety of small arms. I was told that all the wreckage I saw before me was the result of a bloody battle fought two days earlier. The enemy had fielded nearly 100 tanks in what he regarded as a prestige encounter almost at the doors of Sialkot, considered to be one of his citadels. Our forces, man to man and machine to machine, faced the enemy's onslaught with cheer and courage, dealing perhaps the deadliest blows the enemy had so far met with in any battle. Our *jawans* in the trenches in a forward area in the Sialkot sector were chewing sugarcane when along with a party of newsreel and television cameramen I went there. There was a lull in fighting then, but all the same the *jawans* were keeping one hand on their guns. Over our heads shells were flying in both directions. Mortars were also active. A tank battle was raging about two miles away in a new offensive launched by the enemy. I could hear the clang, clang of the charging tanks and the shots they were firing. 'Don't worry Sahab, these are our tanks striking at the enemy,' one *jawan* told me. I moved closer to the trenches. 'Do you want a sugarcane piece?' he asked. 'This is Pakistani cane and it is quite sweet.' The *jawans* told me about the famous tank battle fought in the same area where we were sitting. In fact, in the sugarcane fields to our rear, I counted 10 of the enemy tanks consisting of Pattons, Chauffe and Walker bulldozers. As I clambered up one of them, I could see many more, some completely burnt out and others crippled. As we were talking with the O.C., four enemy jets suddenly appeared over us. They had spotted the tanks and also some troop movement. They came low strafing all over. Soon the sky was rent with bursts of rifle fire from our *jawans*. The planes swept past us but took a second chance at the tanks which they had failed to hit in their first run. Once again the planes were denied the 'kill', our *jawans* firing volleys of shots which made the planes turn away to their own bases. The enemy nevertheless shot an officer or two in the leg and shoulder. The wounds were dressed immediately and the injured officers were as cheerful as they were before. Here

was a spirit of comradeship. The O.C. patted the wounded with the remark : 'God bless you, my boys'; and the boys in turn fondly remarked to others : 'Take care of the old man.' He then started off to a forward area saying that he had a date with the enemy. Later in the night we learnt that he did keep the date by capturing a position³⁰ that was marked for the day. As we walked back to our jeeps, we found that the enemy had nearly got our jeeps, having missed the tanks. The windscreens had been smashed and the vehicles showed bullet holes. The engines were, however, in the working order and so we drove back."

JASSORAN AND CHAPRAR

On 18 September the high light of ground battles was the capture by our troops of the enemy post at Jassoran, two miles west of Chawinda. The Pakistanis committed their armour to the fierce engagement around Jassoran, but lost six Pattons destroyed and four captured intact. The occupation of Jassoran established our mastery over the Sialkot-Pasrur railway more firmly, and carried us farther in the movement to envelop Sialkot. In the southward direction, the advancing troops reached a new point, Butur Dograndi. On the morning of 19 September, the Indian troops, made a new thrust to isolate Sialkot from the north. In a serious scuffle four Pakistani tanks—three Chaffe and one Sherman—were knocked out. One Indian tank was lost. They seized three Pakistani posts in the Sialkot-Jammu sector. They included Tilakpur and Muhadipur situated along the Sialkot-Chaprar road. This road is approximately three miles north-west of Suchetgarh lying on the Sialkot-Jammu road. Chaprar is about 15 miles north-east of Sialkot and road is one to three miles from the international border with India at different points. Chaprar is close to Akhnur in Jammu and Kashmir State. This road was used by Pakistanis for ingress into Indian territory. We succeeded in cutting the vital road-link in Pakistan's communications.

SOME OTHER ENGAGEMENTS

A grim air battle was fought on 19 September in the Sialkot-Chawinda-Pasrur region. Our ground forces were going to deliver an assault to the north of Sialkot, and air cover was to be provided. Four Mysteres were ordered for the close support. Squadron Leader Denzil Keelor was asked to provide cover to the Mysteres. He was accompanied by Flying Officer Rai as his second, Flight Lieutenant V. Kapila as the sub-section leader and Flight Lieutenant Maya Dev.

They flew from Adampur air base and made for Sialkot. Four Pakistani Sabres advanced to meet them near about Chawinda. They were about 4,000 feet above the Gnats which were flying low just 300 feet above the ground. The four Gnats ascended to intercept the Sabres. Kapila got behind one Sabre. It took a sudden turn to avoid the Gnat. Kapila stuck to its heels, watching all the time for a favourable firing position. Drawing closer Kapila gave a burst from a distance of 500 yards. They were at a height of 1,500 feet and were still climbing down. Kapila fired again from 300 yards, when he was about 300 feet above the ground. He succeeded in his 'kill.' The Sabre spun and crashed to the ground. Thus Kapila was triumphant in an almost impossible feat. Just at this moment Keelor saw another Sabre approaching. Keelor immediately fell in its pursuit and got an opportunity of slipping behind the Sabre in a good firing position. From a distance of 500 yards Keelor discharged his guns and the Sabre went down to the ground with a crash. Unknowingly in the heat of frenzy and fury for the game Keelor was flying almost at tree-top level. He saved his Gnat with utmost dexterity and skill. One Gnat was lost, but the pilot baled out safely in an area under Indian control.

In the Sialkot area, Pakistani troops continuously tried to regain their lost positions by intruding into Indian-held areas and by violating Indian-held air space. To regain control of the Sialkot-Pasrur railway line, which had been cut by Indian forces, they made several attempts to run trains through Indian-held areas. On September 21 the enemy was seen forming up in the Phillaurah sector. Indian infantry supported by tanks attacked them, broke up their concentration and destroyed two of their tanks. Another engagement took place the same day four miles north-west of Chawinda, across the Sialkot-Pasrur railway line. Three Patton tanks and four recoilless guns were destroyed. In an air swoop in the Chawinda area, Indian aircraft knocked out three enemy tanks and damaged eight more. At Pagowal one Patton tank was captured intact on the same day. Pagowal is nearly four miles south-west of Bajragarhi. Bajragarhi is on the Indo-Pakistan border south of Suchetgarh. Indian troops possessed Tilakpur and Muhadipur along the Sialkot-Chasprar road. These two villages were attacked by a Pakistani infantry battalion in the early hours of September 22. It was supported by a squadron of tanks. After an engagement lasting three hours, the enemy was not only beaten back but also pushed to

new positions at Rimal and Kanpur, about a mile west of Tilakpur. Thirteen Pakistani soldiers including one officer were killed. One Pakistani soldier was captured and a recoilless gun was destroyed.

A NEW RECORD

Normally armoured regiments fight for 3 to 4 days at a stretch and withdraw for refitting and replenishment. In this sector, however, some Indian tanks stayed in action at a stretch for as long as two weeks from 8 to 23 September, going into action time and again. Thus they created a record by remaining in action for such a long time. Besides the determination of the tank crew, this was due in no small measure to the indefatigable spirit of the corps of electrical and mechanical engineers who worked day and night, and moved right up to the front to repair mechanical faults in the tanks. Often they towed a tank to the rear workshop, worked at it in the night and put it back in the field the next morning. Similarly the corps of signals worked round-the clock to keep the wireless and line communications in top gear. Speedy communications were essential in military operations, and particularly in tank battles. Due to the distances involved wireless communications were the principal means by which the commander could direct his regiments.

RESULTS

After 15 days Pakistan's armour lay in ruins. Over 200 enemy tanks were destroyed and 36 captured intact. The Indian losses were comparatively light, about 50 tanks, all second hand, as they had been used in World War II in Burma. The battlefields being under our control, we possessed both the Pakistani and our own disabled tanks. Many of our tanks which had been disabled were repaired and put on the road. This achievement was made in the face of superior enemy strength of nearly three enemy tanks to one of ours. Pakistanis had 250 tanks, but Indians never had more than 90 on the front for any one battle. Most of its armour had been blunted by the superior tactics and neat team work of Indian forces. Hundreds of heavy vehicles, recoilless guns, field guns, medium and light machineguns and large dumps of ammunition were captured by our troops. Pakistan's losses were over 600 dead. About 300 were taken prisoners.

We were in occupation of Pakistani territory along the border

for 30 miles from 4 to 16 miles deep. It contained about 300 small and big villages and towns with a population of two lakhs. Nearly 200-square-mile area was firmly under Indian control. Enemy snipers had been pushed out. *Our supply lines and communications had been secured with all points along the forward lines.* With this advance, almost all of the Pakistani outer defences in the Sialkot area had been reduced to shambles. The enemy columns had been pushed back into their inner defensive shell around Chawinda and the embattlements of Sialkot cantonment. In fact at the time the ceasefire came into force, Pakistan was fighting a purely defensive engagement around the vicinity of Chawinda. *It means our forces dominated the area overlooking Sialkot and across the main Sialkot-Pasrur rail line in the south. It was firmly held at Siala on the main Jammu-Sialkot road.*

Seen from the three sectors around Sialkot in our possession, Sialkot was nearly two and a half miles from Chawinda side and about two miles each from Jammu and Akhnur sides. While Sialkot city was firmly held by the enemy, the ring round it had been tightened from all the three sides. Pakistan's defence fortifications and concrete bunkers had come under *our medium range fire.* Our forward patrols had reached Sialkot outposts to direct accurate artillery fire on the enemy gun emplacements. From a forward post the spire of a church in Sialkot city could be seen. The historic 'Puran da khuh' was only three miles away. Dalowali railway station now called Sialkot Cantonment railway station was in Indian occupation. The Marala headworks from where the Ichhogil canal is taken off was only 7 miles from Indian camp. The metalled road leading from Suchetgarh in Indian territory to Sialkot is 8 miles. The 3 mile stretch of this road was under Indian control. Qila Bazar, Trunk Bazar, Bazar Kathian, Bara Bazar, almost half the town of Sialkot lay deserted. Most of the population of the city had fled away towards Lyallpur.²¹

THE PEOPLE

After visiting about 50 villages in the Sialkot sector, a press representative stated that nowhere did he find electricity, and any sign of prosperity. No metalled roads existed except the Sialkot-Lahore road. The main road from Sialkot to Pasrur and Zafarwal did not pass through or by any big village. The *kachcha* roads were in a pitiable condition. He did not find any *pucca* house. Irrigation was done mainly by the Persian wheel. No canal or *kuhl* was to be seen anywhere.

The entire area had only one high school, established in 1945.¹² A group of M. P.s toured the forward areas in the Sialkot sector on October 13 and 14, 1965. They got the impression that the Pakistan Government had been concentrating all these years on building up armed strength, caring little for the people. Large dumps of arms and ammunition were found in almost every house. All villages and even streets had ditches and pillboxes fitted with guns. Ditches existed also in fields. Arms and grenades had been freely distributed among villagers. Even women were trained to use grenades.

There was a sharp contrast between Indian and Pakistani territory along the international border in Sialkot sector. Indian countryside hummed with life. In the border villages of Ranbirsinghpura, Hiranagar and Bisnab normalcy prevailed everywhere. Sturdy peasants cheerfully tended their cattle and cultivated fields. Village belles carried pitchers of water laughing and joking. Naughty children dived and bathed in the canal, throwing water and mud on one another. Community listening sets in a road side tea-stall blared film music. All this conveyed the impression that the villagers were unmindful of the fighting a few miles from their homes and fields. Only an occasional drone of Pakistani Sabre jets and bombers temporarily irritated them. The Pakistani side of the border presented a different scene altogether. Nobody was to be seen in villages. Tall maize, millet and sugarcane fields were eaten away by cattle and wild animals. On the whole life appeared extinct. Here and there some armed men and women in civilian clothes were roaming about. They had been forcibly detained to fight Indian troops.

Almost the entire population of all villages in our occupation had fled away to distant interior parts. Those who remained behind were removed by Indian forces to the evacuee camp at Kathua, 57 miles from Jammu. Some of these men managed to escape to the rear of Indian army and indulged in acts of sabotage. The number of Pakistani refugees in Kathua camp was about 2,000. Each of them was given 500 grams of flour daily in addition to pulses, salt, spices, sugar, soap and oil, etc. Medical aid was given to the sick and the wounded. Woollen clothes and other necessary articles such as milk and tea were provided. Their belongings were untouched. On the contrary the Indian refugees from Chhamb sector numbering about one lakh were supplied 350 grams¹³ of flour without any sugar and pulses.

Hundreds of civilian transport drivers earned the admiration of everybody by carrying day and night essential supplies for the army and civil population, braving enemy air raids and shell fire, and on their return journey by giving free lifts to villagers from affected areas. The people of our border villages were so much struck with the bravery and heroism of Indian *jawans* that on the Diwali day, they drove five trucks laden with sweets for distribution among those troops who had fought in tank battles. The military authorities having failed to dissuade them from going to the front, allowed thirty of them to distribute sweets with their own hands in the Sialkot-Chawinda sector.¹⁴

RAJASTHAN

PAKISTANI PROVOCATIONS

The sixth and last batch of Indian troops entered Pakistan in Sind from Rajasthan border in Barmer. Pakistan had strengthened its border posts with men and material along the Rajasthan border. It opened a military training camp near its border post of Rukonwala, just opposite to the village of Gajewala in Bikaner district. The local people and irregulars were trained there. The airstrip at the border post of Name Ranial opposite to the Indian village of Sachu in Bikaner district was extended and renovated. The local population was evacuated from the Marroata Mandi area opposite to the Pugal area of Bikaner district in order to set up an artillery range at Mojgarh opposite Kishanpura in the same district. Towards the end of July 1965 West Pakistan's border police subjected an Indian police party to heavy firing. The Government of India protested to the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi. The note dated August 2 said : "On the night of July 26-27, 1965, when a border police party belonging to the Indian picket of Roop Nagar was taking action to intercept a dangerous outlaw, the Pakistani border police post at Mohammad Shah Baro-ki-Kattian started heavy firing on the Indian police. The unprovoked firing towards the Indian party from the Pakistani police post enabled the outlaw to escape."

After some time Pakistani troop movements were noticed at several points along the Rajasthan border. Pakistan had also massed troops at certain places. A press report stated that -in the beginning

of September 1965 Pakistan concentrated its troops in Bahawalnagar, about 20 miles from our post at Hindumalkot in Ganganagar district.¹ On the Rajasthan border there were two types of infiltrators. Muslims of the border areas of Pakistan crossed over into Rajasthan without any passports and quietly settled here. The local people were cowed down by threat of arms from Pakistani armed forces. Besides the Pakistani irregular forces, very often aided by regular troops, intruded into Rajasthan. The pattern of infiltration bore similarity with that adopted by Pakistan in Kashmir. Vast sandy tracts provided easy entry points.

Infiltration from Pakistan had been going on even before August 1965. L. N. Mishra, Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, told the Rajya Sabha on August 27, 1965 that 1,415 out of 1,645 infiltrators had been detected up to June 1965. In the beginning of August Pakistan concentrated regular and irregular troops along the border of Rajasthan. Mujahids were a fanatical force. This had been built up to add to the Pakistani fire power. The Mujahids were the most hated of the Pakistanis by the border people. As soon as they entered a village, they would shoot some people to strike terror, and start raping and looting. They stripped men and women naked and would carry off their clothes. Heaps of such clothes were recovered by our troops from Kilner and other posts. Rangers are a paramilitary force, equipped with powerful automatic weapons and backed by a highly developed transport system and a most elaborate wireless network. Mujahids and Rangers intruded stealthily in hundreds and overran some of the outlying posts. Only small units of the Camel Corps of the Rajasthan Armed Constabulary were deployed along the border to patrol the vast sandy tracts, where haze and sand mingled to form a thick cloud of dust. They are generally inaccessible because of high sand dunes.

The real task of guarding the frontier was left to the people. The villagers are brave and courageous. "Give us arms, food and water, and see what we do to the enemy," they said. Panic and fear are alien to them. They want tubewells instead of wells. Water from wells is saline and brackish. It is unfit for human consumption. Amarkot sub-division and Tharparkar district of Sind in West Pakistan are the only regions which have a substantial minority population. Amarkot was formerly part of Jodhpur State and had been leased out to the British Government. The Hindus in this area had been suffering from acute hardship since Pakistan started its military adventure against India. One thousand to 1,500 of these

helpless people managed to escape into Indian territory. They told a party of Members of Parliament touring the border areas of Barmer and Jaisalmer that the Hindus in those pockets had been virtually interned. Not only were their movements restricted but also assault, intimidation and insults were a regular feature of their life.⁴

BORDER WITH PAKISTAN

The Rajasthan-West Pakistan frontier along the Border Districts of Ganganagar, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and Barmer is 650 miles long. It stretches from Hindumalkot in Ganganagar district, trijunction of Rajasthan, Panjab and West Pakistan and an important railhead to Brahmanon-ki-Dhani in Barmer bordering the Rann of Kutch. This is the longest Indo-Pakistan border in one Indian State. Of this 550 miles are in the desert belt with hardly any signs of vegetation. These four border districts cover a little more than one-third of the total area of Rajasthan. The border villages are inhabited by Hindu and Muslim cattle breeders. They roam about with their cattle in search of water and grass. A breeder usually has 500 to 1,000 cattle. Cattle-lifting is therefore common on both sides. Smuggling goes on as usual. Ganganagar district has about 125 miles of common border with Pakistan. It is known as the granary of Rajasthan. The district is expected to become the wheat bowl of the country after completion of the Rajasthan canal and the Ghaggar water reserviors. It is predominantly inhabited by the martial races like Sikhs, Jats and Ahirs. Imbued with indomitable courage and determination the unsophisticated villagers of the district admirably responded to the country's call to foil every attempt of the enemy to grab Indian territory. Bikaner has 83 mile long border in the desolate desert with Pakistan. The 294-mile long Jaisalmer-Pakistan border has a predominantly Muslim population. Their only means of livelihood is animal husbandry. The Pakistani Rangers and Mujahids kept this border in a fluid state. They frequently looted villages and carried off cattle. The Rajasthan Armed Constabulary was small in number and poorly armed and equipped. The determination and resolve of the people of this border area to defend the territorial integrity of the country against the depredations of an unscrupulous enemy is indeed remarkable. In the stark and inhospitable desert tract where no life or water can be found for miles on end, the courage and enthusiasm of sturdy villagers is exemplary. The district of Barmer has about 150 miles of common border with Pakistan.

INDIAN THRUST INTO SIND

In the beginning of September regular daily bombardment of Gadra Road station was started by Pakistan. A five-mile sand track, passing through a barren gorge, links up the Gadra Road station with the Pakistani village of Gadra. Gadra Road station lies 25 miles east of Munabao, the Indian railway terminus on the Barmer-Hyderabad line. Gadra Road station was deserted in the wake of repeated bombings and rocket attacks. In opening a front across the Rajasthan border there were two objectives. The Gadra Road station, being an important railway point, had a strategic significance, and it was to be safeguarded. Secondly, the Pakistan army units which had been to that area during the Kutch fighting had to be tied down by cutting off Karachi from Lahore to prevent those troops from moving to the Panjab area.

Gadra town was our main target. It lies in a depression surrounded on three sides by high sand dunes. In the north is a flat plain. This is the only approach for tank and vehicular movement. It had about 500 houses with a population of less than 3,000. At about 3 a.m. on September 8, 1965, Indian troops supported by tanks made a two-pronged-attack. One Indian infantry battalion moved straight across the plain. The other battalion advanced across the high sand dunes to take the enemy from the rear. The operation was in a forbidding territory covered with vast stretches of sand alternating with innumerable sand dunes as high as hillocks. The town was defended by two battalions of Indus Rangers equipped with artillery, medium guns, mortars and the latest types of jeeps and modern wireless equipment. While the enemy was trying to engage us from the front, their defences were pierced from the rear by our troops. By 11 o'clock the enemy fled. Pakistani troops were also found concealed in houses and huts in the town. They were quickly ejected from these hideouts. The Muslim population fled into the interior. The few Hindus left in the village asked for escort to Barmer which was supplied. The Rangers then took up positions on high ridges farther south where they had already dumped ammunition. Their mortars were sighted from the village. They were fully prepared for the fight. In a quick outflanking move, the Indian forces broke the enemy defence. Many bodies were picked up from the bunkers after a few days. A large quantity of arms, ammunition and wireless equipment was captured.

The next confrontation took place at Jasse-ka-Par, 12 miles

south-west of Gadra town. The speed with which our troops advanced through winding sand dunes surprised the enemy. The Pakistanis made a counter-attack. It was repulsed with heavy casualties inflicted on them. The force commandant of Pakistani troops was killed, and some vehicles, arms and ammunition were captured by Indian soldiers. Indian troops then fanned out towards Skarbu and Khokhra-ka-Par, but after advancing 8 miles got bogged down in high sand dunes. Another Indian column moved in the direction of Jogi Bera, 12 miles from Gadra village towards south-west in Pakistan. Heavy army vehicles could not be used in the sand. The civilian buses carried troops and equipment. Despite heavy strafing by enemy aircraft our forces threw out Pakistanis from some posts between Dali and Khinsor on September 18, 1965. Dali and Khinsor are 10 and 12 miles from the border, south-west of Gadra Road station inside Pakistan. After stiff fighting in which one of our tanks was damaged, our forces captured a three-ton lorry in working order loaded with small arms and ammunition. Our troops raided a Pakistani post at Ganneewala, one mile across the border in Sind in the early hours of September 18. About 20 Pakistani soldiers were killed and wounded. On September 22 another westward thrust was made from Dali to a point 10 miles away. Shingar Singh, a *jawan*, hailing from Ambala showed exemplary courage and bravery in Barmer sector in an encounter with Pakistanis. The *jawan* was surrounded by eight Pakistani infiltrators. Without losing heart, he began firing, killing four of them and injuring two others. The remaining two fled.²

JAISALMER

In Jaisalmer district a small band of the Rajasthan Armed Constabulary showed remarkable valour in repulsing a heavy attack of Pakistani raiders. The incident took place in Bhuttonwala village situated about 100 miles north-west of Jaisalmer on the border. There is a sweet-water well, the only one in that area for miles around. People come there from far and wide to fetch drinking water and to water their animals. Pakistanis were anxious to seize this well. The place was guarded by a small post of Rajasthani armed police manned by a dozen sepoy. On the night of 8-9 September a Pakistani band of armed raiders came in a truck at a distance of three miles from the Rajasthani post. They trickled quietly towards the well where a number of people were lying by their cattle. They quietly informed the police. There was not much ammunition with them. One sepoy, Poonam Singh, was sent to

another post to fetch ammunition. He returned by 4 o'clock in the morning on September 9. The attack was immediately started. In the first round three Pakistanis were killed. The raiders assaulted the post at sunrise, in which three Pakistanis were again killed. The post ran short of ammunition. Constable Poonam Singh, risking his life, came out of the post to collect cartridges and other ammunition from the Rangers who had been killed. The quantity was considered insufficient, and he was sent out again by head constable Mool Singh to search the remaining dead bodies of the raiders. A raider had seen Poonam Singh. He struck a hand-grenade on his forehead. Poonam Singh jumped over to enemy position and killed the head ranger, Afzal Khan. Poonam Singh then collapsed and died. The remaining 22 raiders fled away⁴.

GANGANAGAR

In Ganganagar district newsmen and others who travelled from Hindumalkot along the international boundary found that normal life prevailed everywhere. The high morale of the people was visible at every village. Men, women, children, young and old, played host to the *jawans*. Armed with rifles, spears and *lathis*, they guarded culverts, canals, roads and highways at several points. The others stayed behind the plough, near their cattle and at the village entrance. They overpowered Mujahids with *lathis*, sickles and knives. The Sikh and Jat women kept watch in the streets and on the roofs of their houses. Their menfolk patrolled at night by turns. The people had dug trenches on the outskirts of villages. It was with this spirit of devotion and sacrifice coupled with the prompt action of our security forces that saved the strategic villages of Hindumalkot, Madera, Naggi, Khakha, Dulapura Kheri and Kotha from falling into enemy hands.

The people of Roheriwala village found that their neighbouring posts of Renuka, Madera and Q-head outpost had been attacked by Mujahids and Rangers on the night of 15-16 September 1965. The shelling by machineguns continued from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. Next morning on September 16, two Mujahids entered Roheriwala village for sabotage. One of the raiders was named Muhammad Yar Khan. On the outskirts of the village they met a 16-year-old Harijan boy. They inquired from him about the location of Indian Army stations in the neighbourhood. The boy was at first confused. After some time he gathered courage. He led them near his village, and pretended to go into the village in search of a man who could supply

them all the information they required. They were immediately overpowered. They were served with tea and police was informed. They disclosed that they were among thousands recruited by Pakistani officers from among poor Baluchis and Pathans. They said they were trained in guerilla tactics and the use of arms at a number of Pakistan cantonments. Before being sent into India, they were taken to Rawalpindi, where a Qazi exhorted them to wage war against the *kafirs*, who were cowardly and weak. They were told that the Pakistan army would occupy India before long, and they would get *jagirs*, and all the wealth they could lay hands on. A special train brought them to Bahawalnagar about 20 miles from the Indian border. From there they went by truck to Sadiqi Mandi village, close to the border with India. Here they were let loose, and instructed to proceed in twos to different villages. After the assigned tasks of sabotage, they were expected to assemble at a given post, where they were to get further instructions. In the previous night's fight they were separated from the others. The clothes of these two men were searched. A diary in the pocket of Muhammad Yar Khan, some currency notes and coins were recovered. The diary showed that the 24-year-old Muhammad Yar Khan belonged to Sadiqqanj in Pakistan. A paper indicated he was an accused under the Gambling Act in a case, Sher Khan and others versus the State. Another paper was a letter written by a Pakistani police official to an Army officer saying that "this man" would be useful for the purpose. "Please fulfil his wishes", the letter said.

INDIAN PILOTS, SAILORS AND PLANNERS

(1)

Air Attacks on Pakistani Bases

PAKISTANI AIRMEN

The Indian airmen faced the enemy's superior planes and radar system boldly and fearlessly. The F-104C Starfighter, which gave Pakistan an exaggerated sense of air superiority over India, was one of the best modern multi-purpose supersonic aircraft. They were supplied free to Pakistan by the United States in 1961-62. Now they are manufactured also in Canada, West Germany and Japan under different names. This is an all-metal plane. Its weight is 17,000 pounds. Its speed is 1,450 miles an hour up to a height of 36,000 feet. Its rate of climb is 7.6 miles per minute. It means this plane can reach Mount Everest in 44 seconds. It can examine the situation within a radius of 400 miles. This single-seater fighter-bomber is fitted with six-barrelled cannon and carries a sidewinder air-to-air missile on each wing tip. It has a radar system and bomb and air data computer, and accommodates a camera for reconnaissance. It can carry nuclear weapons. The F-86a also supplied free to Pakistan by the United States are capable of supersonic speed.

The Indian fighter aircraft is a highly manoeuvrable light machine. Among our fighters are Gnats (built entirely in village)

India), Hunters (British) and Mysteres (French). Our reserve fighters are Toofanis (French) and Vampires (British). In addition we have some Russian MIG-21s and HF-24s built at Bangalore. These are capable of supersonic performance with certain limitations. The role of the fighter aircraft is two-fold. First, they provide air defence of our airfields, vulnerable centres, vital installations; and escort bombers in daylight raids to their targets. The second role of the fighter is ground support. It was in this role that the Indian Air Force first went into action in this conflict. Ground support is both direct and indirect. Direct support includes breaking up enemy armour, inflicting casualties on his troops right in the tactical battle area itself. Disrupting his lines comes under the category of indirect support. Besides the Indian Mysteres, Hunters and Canberras kept up their daylight raids on military targets in Pakistan throughout the period of operation. The attacks were directed mainly against the Pakistani air defence complex in Sargodha, Bhagtanwali and Chhota Sargodha. In almost all the bombing raids the Gnats provided an invincible escort. The Hunters and Mysteres also gave close support to the ground forces on the wide front of operations in the Chhamb sector of Jammu, and the Sialkot and Lahore sectors. They had a big share in the destruction of Pakistan's tank force and in the disruption of Pakistan's logistical support arrangements.

The Pakistanis were so much afraid of our pilots that the entire enemy force of B-57 bombers took harbour at Mauripur airport near Karachi because Pakistanis knew that this base, which was also used by the United States Air Force would not be on the list of India's immediate targets. In this war India established its air superiority not by the quality of her aircraft but by the quality of the men flying them. The Pakistan Air Force realized to its cost that men mattered more than machines. The superb performance of our fighter squadrons against enemy superior fighters proved that the marginal superiority of the enemy's equipment was more than neutralised by better trained and better led Indian pilots. Our planes raided Pakistan air bases as far as Chaklala, Peshawar, and Kohat. While the morale of Indian airmen was high, the morale of the Pakistani pilots was summed up by Flight Lieutenant V. S. Pathania thus: "They always avoided us, and in case we engaged them they always turned tail, and ran for their homes. So from this we know that our tactics, our aircraft and the experience of pilots have proved that we are in a much better position to tackle them in spite of their modern radar and aircraft."¹ The Pakistan Air Force started with 104 Sabres, 12 Starfighters and

24 B-57 Bombers. They lost 73 planes altogether, more than half the number they started with. Our losses were not even half as many. Besides, only half of the Indian Air Force had been committed in the fighting. All operations were conducted by the Western Area Command, and no aircraft were withdrawn from our Eastern and Central Commands."²

SORTIES OVER PAKISTAN'S AIR BASES

During the three weeks of fighting against Pakistan, Indian Air Force proved its combat superiority. This was not due to any dare-devilry, but to scientific and skilful business. Effective offence and defence called for sober planning and minute execution. Experience of senior officers and boys' individual initiative and personal courage developed after years' intensive training and intellectual discipline invariably brought success. Air actions in forward areas were directed from a control tower. The orders were issued by the Sector Operation's Command over the wireless. The pilots immediately emerged from the Operation's Readiness Platform. They hurried up to their aircraft and positioned them for the take off. In an instant, without the loss of a fraction of a minute, they were up. While in the air they received instructions as to their destination and necessary information about the movement of enemy planes. The radar screens picked up movements of Sabres and guided the Gnats over radio-telephone, and they made short work of the enemy aircraft. The IAF Canberras visited all the Pakistani air bases.

SARGODHA

Sargodha was the hub of enemy's aerial activity. This base, 106 miles north-west of Lahore, was designed and fortified by American experts several years ago. The runways were paved with concrete several feet deep. Most of the vital hangar facilities were built underground. This base was made the home of the squadron of F-104C supersonic Starfighters given in military aid to Pakistan. The main importance of Sargodha lay in the fact that it was the centre of the complex and elaborate radar network. It peered deep into Indian territory. It was so perfect that it could detect the presence of an aeroplane in the sky over a distance of more than 300 miles, and could shoot a fly in the air several miles away in the twinkling of an eye. The vital control rooms of this network were totally buried underground. They could only be damaged or destroyed through their ventilating or electric system.



No 9 : Air Strikes on the Western Front

The radar had also one more shortcoming. It could not detect the presence of a plane below the height of 500 feet. This weakness was detected by the Gnat boys after close examination and keen observation. The Indian Air Force attacked this base on 6 September in the day. It damaged the aircraft dispersal area, scored direct hits on the installations, wrecked the overground hangars and destroyed 18 aircraft of various description, including one F-104 Starfighter and several F-86 Sabre jets and B-57 bombers. Thereafter Sargodha air base remained under relentless attacks for many days. In the second air strike at Sargodha on 7 September, Indian fighters destroyed two F-86 Sabre jets and one F-104 aircraft on the ground. Flight Lieutenant Narendar Malik made up his mind to destroy the radar system of Sargodha. He flew from a forward area, and was for 90 miles continuously at a height of about 300 feet far below the radar range. The Sargodha airport guards came to know of his presence when he was throwing bombs from a height of 30 feet only. By this time he had inflicted considerable damage on the airport installations, but missed his target. He made several attempts and eventually succeeded in smashing partly the underground radar system. Although he was seriously wounded, he managed to come back to the base by flying at the same low level. Leaving his plane intact he succumbed to his injuries. Several touching poems appeared in Hindi and Urdu newspapers in appreciation of this young man's daring. This wonderful deed combined with the magnificent exploits of Keelors and others placed India side by side with the self-sacrificing heroes of Japan, Germany and Israel.²

Squadron Leader S. Handa led a sortie over Sargodha air base. He was accompanied by three more pilots. On reaching the target very low they pulled up, but did not see any aircraft on the ground. Handa went for a fuel dump and dropped 2,000 pound bombs on it. He rose up to 200 feet, and by chance caught sight of three F-86 and one F-104 parked at a place. He quickly turned towards them, and opened his guns. His second, Flight Lieutenant Brar, dropped two bombs on the hangar. As instructed by Handa, his No. 3 also dropped two bombs there. There was intensive ack-ack fire, but no enemy aircraft was available over the field at that time. Having done the job all the four returned to the base safe and sound. On 17 September our Canberras blasted a number of military installations at this base. On the morning of September 21, 1965, Indian Canberras struck at the Sargodha air base with heavy bombs and set ablaze many targets. One of our Canberra bombers was lost in

enemy fire. On another occasion four bombers were ordered to attack Sargodha airfield. After doing the job all returned safely to Indian territory. Just then one 25-year-old pilot of Agra discovered that two bombs were still lying with him. He immediately returned towards Pakistan territory to use them. He was overtaken by Pakistani Sabre jets and forced to land in a Pakistani airfield. He was about to touch the ground and the Sabre was close behind him. He immediately rose up, came over the Sabre, and let out both the bombs. One struck the Sabre and it burst out into flames. The other bomb hit another aircraft lying on the ground. He returned safely to the base. Songs were sung in praise of this brave pilot in the newspapers, but alas his name was not given out.

Pakistan had all the time asserted that the Indian Air Force attacks on Sargodha had proved abortive and the place remained absolutely intact. But on December 15, 1965, an advertisement was published in all the leading Pakistani papers by the Commissioner, Sargodha Division, inviting architects of Pakistan to submit designs for a memorial mosque to be built in Sargodha cantonment as a monument to the pilots and civilians killed there during the recent Indo-Pakistani hostilities. Could there be a better proof of our boys' heroic exploits? It was a confession of the successful bombing of Sargodha by Indian pilots.

OTHER AIRFIELDS

Indian planes bombed runways of the Chaklala airfield at Rawalpindi on September 7.⁴ Squadron Leader Jasbir Singh led a formation of four aircraft on 7 September to attack a target of military importance in West Panjab. He spotted a radar signal at a place 10 miles north of Gujranwala. He immediately dived down in the midst of heavy ground fire, and deliberately struck his plane against the radar unit which was seriously damaged. Jasbir Singh was killed. The other three Mysteres returned safely. Flying Officer D. P. Chinoy was piloting a Mystere aircraft on a daylight bombing sortie in Pakistan on September 10, 1965. With him there were two other planes bound for the same mission. They reached the target and reconnoitred it. The remaining account is given in Chinoy's own words: "My aircraft was hit by ground fire. It caught fire and my cockpit was burning and I ejected. As I was coming out by parachute, I was shot at by rifles. I could hear the heavy artillery guns firing behind me. The moment I landed, I ran and hid in the grass where I kept crawling north-west, keeping the sun towards my left—running from

one grass patch to another till I could not run any more. I heard some more rifle shots. I fled from there leaving behind some of my flying clothings and I kept running till I came across a villager—I don't know if he spotted me. The moment I saw him, I dived into the grass, and thought it wiser to wait till it was night. So, I lay down in the grass for a few hours. It was about 4 o'clock when I went into the grass and lay down there till 6.45 p.m. It was fairly dark then and I got out of my grass patch and kept going eastwards; then the moon rose. I kept walking and running for about five hours till I hit the main road. There, fortunately, I saw a well. I had about a bucket of water. Soon afterwards I saw some of our troops there. Had I not had the water, I would not have been able to talk to them."

On September 11, 1965, the official account of that day's operations made a special mention of the skill and bravery of Flight Lieutenant Hussain of the IAF. He piloted a Mystere aircraft in one of the raiding missions against Pakistani air bases. His aircraft was hit and badly damaged by enemy fire. Hussain skilfully piloted the machine back to Indian territory and baled out. He was picked up and was again ready for more sorties. In dashng raids on Pakistan's air bases at Peshawar and Kohat on the morning of September 14, Indian bombers damaged a number of Pakistan's fighter planes, military installations and fuel dumps. Pakistan fighter planes made vain attempts to intercept the Indian bombers over these places. On 16 September our bombers again pounded these air bases. The air base at Akwal is about 40 miles north-east of Mianwali. Our Canberras blasted some of its military installations on September 17. Chak Jhumra air base is about 60 miles west of Lahore and 50 miles south-east of Sargodha. It was raided by our Canberras on September 17. Another high-powered radar unit of the Pakistan Air Force was at Badin, 20 miles north of the Kutch-Sind border. It was one of those invisible eyes which looked deep into Indian territory. It was from this radar that Pakistan Air Force aircraft were directed in their fight over the Rann of Kutch during the operations in that area in May 1965. This unit also directed the planes which shot down the unarmed civil aircraft by which the Chief Minister of Gujarat was travelling on September 19, 1965. Our Canberras on September 21 disabled this air base by direct hits with rockets.

(2)

Role of Indian Navy

Pakistan's bombardment of two Indian ports, confiscation of our

ships and cargo and the penetration into Indian waters by Chinese and Indonesian submarines, put the Indian Navy on the alert, though it possessed no submarine. Indian Navy has to perform many duties : (1) It guards 3,500 miles of coastline and far-flung off-shore islands. (2) It protects our rapidly expanding mercantile marine. While Pakistan has about a dozen merchant ships, we have over 200 merchantmen. It keeps our supply line over the vast ocean tracts open. (3) It is to provide gunfire and air support to our armies operating near the coast. (4) Lastly, it has to blockade enemy ports and close supply and troop transportation routes to the enemy. The Pakistani naval flotilla, including a battle cruiser, five destroyers, two frigates, the submarine Ghazi obtained from the United States in 1962, and a fleet tanker, almost the entire Pakistani Navy had been operating in the Arabian Sea for about two weeks before 6 September 1965. They were lying in wait off the coast of Gujarat for an opportunity to bombard Indian ports. An Indian Naval Alize aircraft spotted this Pakistani flotilla about a 100 miles from the Gujarat coast. An Indian Navy task force which was already scouring the Arabian Sea immediately set out in the direction of the enemy. Pakistani scout ships at once flashed a warning to the Pakistani fleet in waiting that Indian warships were advancing. The Pakistani ships immediately broke up their group formation and sped swiftly towards Karachi, their home base.⁶

TWO PORTS SHELLED

Two ships from this flotilla entered Indian waters on the night of 7-8 September. They bombarded Dwarka on the Gujarat coast, 200 miles south of Karachi. The port installations and other civilian places of no military significance were hit. Afterwards Okha was attacked on the same coast. Two rest-houses were damaged and an empty village hut was set on fire. Two bullocks were killed. The Indian Navy stepped into fighting for the first time late in the night to repulse successfully the Pakistani attack on Okha.

INDIAN NAVY ON GUARD

Immediately after the Pakistani attack on Dwarka port the Indian Navy was ordered to prevent Pakistani naval vessels from entering the Arabian Sea. When the fighting began practically all vessels of the Pakistani Navy were in Karachi except a submarine which had earlier left the port. It was not allowed to come anywhere near Indian

ships. Indian destroyers patrolled off Karachi making it impossible for Pakistani vessels to venture out. The entire Pakistani Navy was successfully kept bottled up inside Karachi port.

Indian naval aircraft operated seawards from Kanya Kumari to the borders of West Pakistan. They took over the air defence of the western coast ports like Bombay, Goa and Cochin and gave close tactical support to sea defence operations. The vigorous patrolling by the ships and air arm of the Indian Navy made it possible for all the Indian ports to attend to business as usual. Besides keeping the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal clear of enemy vessels, the Indian Navy had the task of checking every ship sailing into Indian ports. All vessels approaching the Indian coast were accosted 12 miles offshore. After their identities had been established, they were permitted to proceed. The reported sighting of a submarine off the Kerala coast by fishermen could not be substantiated. Another submarine was reported in the Bay of Bengal between Madras and Visakhapatnam by a merchant vessel, but a naval patrol in the area saw no trace of it.

GHAZI WOUNDED

During the period of hostilities the Indian frigates of the Leopard class carried out anti-submarine search. Some contacts were made and the objects of contact were attacked. As a result of one of these attacks the Pakistani submarine Ghazi was hit. Its engine was damaged by an Indian torpedo, and its tank started leaking. Ghazi went back home limping. It had to give some explanation for its condition. The Commander of the Ghazi made up a story that he was involved in an engagement 350 miles west of Bombay and sank three Indian frigates including the Brahmaputra. Pakistan Government announced gallantry awards for the Commander of Ghazi and his first lieutenant, including the engine room artificer. According to Radio Pakistan they received the decoration 'Sitara-e-Juraat.' These reports were prominently published in the British, American and German newspapers. The Defence Ministry of India described Pakistani version as "complete fabrication."⁸ Indian naval authorities declared that all the frigates of the Indian Navy were intact and the Brahmaputra was quite safe. Pakistan's myth was exploded on November 20, 1965. Naval Advisers of four countries and a group of television correspondents lunched on Brahmaputra at Bombay. The party included C.J. Cunningham, Naval Adviser in the British High Commission, Commodore C.B. Jones,

Assistant Naval Adviser in the United States Embassy, Captain V. Saravari, Naval Adviser for Thailand in New Delhi, and Colonel Ali Joesran, Indonesian Naval Attache, and German, British and American television correspondents. The other frigates were also shown to the visiting party anchoring safe and sound in the Bombay waters.⁹ It seems Pakistan gave awards to the three persons for having succeeded in bringing Ghazi back to the port. It was sent to Irani docks for repair.¹⁰

AL-HASAN PREVENTED FROM MISCHIEF

A Pakistani merchantship, Al-Hasan, 7,000 tons, called at Visakhapatnam towards the close of August 1965. It started loading cargo of the manganese ore. On the outbreak of hostilities between India and Pakistan, it was feared that the enemy ship might damage port installations, sabotage the Government property or block the ships in the harbour in the shallow or narrow water channel. Commodore Douglas St. John Cameron, East Coast Command, deputed a young naval officer, Lieutenant S.J. Nagraji, commanding officer of Ajay, a tiny 130-ton Indian-built patrol ship, to take charge of the situation. He kept a strict watch over the movements of the Pakistani crew. Four more harbour tugs were brought in to block Al-Hasan's passage. A few days later Al-Hasan's berth was changed to a safer place, and the crew was entrusted to civil authorities.¹¹

(3)

Men behind the Scenes

The triumph of Indian soldiers and pilots in the battlefields was mainly due to the planners and organisers of operations. The strategy decided upon and tactics worked out by them were responsible to a large extent for this achievement. A brief mention of some of these military leaders is made here.

J.N. CHAUDHURI

By every means of military standard, General Joyanto Nath Chaudhuri, Chief of the Army Staff, now Indian High Commissioner in Canada, deserves to be ranked as one of the leading military figures in the world. He is a brilliant strategist, able commander and trusted leader of the nation. He is a specialist in armour and has experience of armoured warfare unrivalled by many others. He is an authority on armour. One foreign book lists him as one of the six best military experts in the world on the deployment of tanks. His

competent leadership is shown by the wrecked and battered hulks of Pakistani tanks some of which are preserved at Patton Nagars in Amritsar and Ambala districts.

General Chaudhuri is a scion of a noble family. His grandfather, W.C. Bonnerjee, was the first President of the Indian National Congress. Chaudhuri obtained a nomination to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and was commissioned in February 1928. He joined the Seventh Light Cavalry. During World War II he served in Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, the Western Desert, and in the Middle East. He was awarded OBE and three times mentioned in despatches. His last appointment in the Middle East was as Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster-General of his division. On his return to India, Chaudhuri was posted as senior instructor at the Staff College, Quetta, now in West Pakistan. In August 1944, he took over command of the 16th Light Cavalry, the seniormost regiment of the Indian Armoured Corps. This was the first armoured regiment to be led into battle by an Indian commanding officer. Under his command, it moved from Quetta to Meiktila, a 3,000-mile march to join fighting in Burma. This regiment was later in the lead of the march on Rangoon. At the end of the Burma campaign, he saw service in Vietnam and Java. On the conclusion of the war, Chaudhuri was chosen to lead the Indian contingent at the Victory Parade in London. In January 1946, he was appointed Brigadier-in-Charge, Administration Malaya Command. Chaudhuri was the third Indian to become Brigadier in the Indian Army. After India's independence, he led the police action in Hyderabad. He was appointed Military Governor of the State. He was in charge as GOC-in-C of the Southern Command of India's military action for the liberation of Goa. He took over as the Chief of the Army Staff on November 20, 1962.

The Government of India took the right decision in conferring high civil awards on eminent Army commanders. Top senior men were certainly above the military awards. Their work did not lie in acts of gallantry in facing the enemy, but in the service of the nation. On their decision depended the security of the armed forces and the country. General Chaudhuri's name will go down in history as one of the greatest generals India has produced. If he had succeeded in prevailing upon the Government of India for attacking Muzaffarabad, Lahore and Sialkot, and if he had been successful in capturing the cantonments of these places, he would have been judged as the greatest Indian military leader of all times in the

recorded history of India. Even now he has the unique distinction of having broken all traditions of the past 2,500 years by fighting the invader on the enemy land. Chaudhuri has set a noble example, which will serve as the beacon light for posterity to see that the sacred Indian soil is not polluted by the enemy in future. On November 9, 1965, President Radhakrishnan conferred the nation's second highest civilian award—Padma Vibhushan on General Chaudhuri. He was decorated with it on November 24, 1965, at a special investiture in the Darbar Hall of Rashtrapati Bhavan. The citation referred to "his outstanding service to the nation by forging the Indian Army into a most efficient and effective instrument for the defence of the country," and said "the entire conduct of the recent operations against Pakistan which extended to various types of terrain and required the most careful planning and coordination was in the able hands of General Chaudhuri."

ARJAN SINGH

It was the Indian Air Force which struck the tender chords in the hearts of all Indians most deeply. Nobody in the general public did believe before the war that Pakistani supersonics, Sabres and Starfighters, would be knocked out by Indian pilots like toys. All this became possible because of the leadership of Air Marshal Arjan Singh, Chief of the Air Staff. In him it was a rare combination of outstanding competence and genuine comradeship. Arjan Singh was born at Lyallpur now in West Pakistan on April 15, 1919. He was educated at Montgomery and at Government College, Lahore. He is a well-known sportsman. He was captain of the swimming team of the Government College, Lahore. He set a record in the one-mile swimming race of the University of the Panjab in 1938. The same year he was selected for training in the Imperial Defence College, Cranwell, in Britain. There he was appointed vice-president of the swimming and athletic team. Arjan Singh was commissioned in the Indian Air Force in February 1939. He began his service with No. 1 I. A. F. Squadron. In World War II he commanded the same Squadron in Arakan and Burma. He led his squadron on a number of strafing and reconnaissance sorties in that area. In 1944 he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for being a "fearless and exceptional pilot with perfect knowledge of his specialised branch of tactical reconnaissance and as an inspiring Squadron Commander." At the end of the war he led the I.A.F. display flight. In 1945 he was promoted as Wing Commander and was made Group Captain in 1947.

On August 15, 1947, in Delhi, Arjan Singh led the formation of flypast, when Jawaharlal Nehru unfurled the Indian National Flag for the first time at the historic Red Fort. He also led the Republic Day flypast for seven years. In one of these, 100 Piston and jet aircraft participated, the largest number up to now. In 1949 he was selected for the Joint Services Staff College, Latimore, England. On his return he was promoted to the rank of Air Commodore and appointed Air Officer Commanding. He was Chef-de-Mission of the Indian contingent for 1956 Olympiad at Melbourne. He graduated from the Imperial Defence College in Britain in 1960. During the Chinese aggression in 1962, he did a number of air dropping sorties in the operational areas. He took over as the Deputy Chief of the Air Staff on January 1, 1963. In August 1963, he was appointed Vice-Chief of the Air Staff. He was the overall commander of the joint air training exercise *shiksha* held in India in November 1963, with the United States Air Force, Royal Air Force of Britain and Royal Australian Air Force. Arjan Singh has flown not less than sixty different types of aircraft from pre-World War Harts to Gnats. He took over as Chief of the Air Staff on August 1, 1964. Air Marshal Arjan Singh equally shares with General J.N. Chaudhuri the proud privilege of having fought the enemy on its soil. While General Chaudhuri's soldiers could not reach Muzaffarabad, Lahore and Sialkot, Arjan Singh's pilots attacked Pakistanis to the farthest limits of Pakistan up to Karachi, Sargodha, Rawalpindi, Kohat and Peshawar. If Pakistan persists, as it seems certain, in its warlike attitude against India, Arjan Singh is bound to win the name and fame even to a greater degree than the celebrated Hari Singh Nalwa. In recognition of Air Marshal Arjan Singh's services, the President conferred on him the nation's second highest civilian award—Padma Vibhushan. The citation referred to him as "a fearless and able pilot" and said he met the situation created by Pakistan's air attacks "with rare courage and determination." It added that the way the I.A.F. struck at enemy bases and provided close support to ground forces was a standing testimony "to the outstanding qualities of leadership of Air Marshal Arjan Singh."

HARBAKSH SINGH

Lieutenant-General Harbaksh Singh hails from a redoubtable military family of Jind State. He was educated at Government College, Lahore. He joined the Military Academy in February 1933. He served in South-East Asia during World War II. In an action he was seriously wounded. He remained unconscious for 76 hours and was

district. His father, Sardar Inder Singh, was a minister in the erstwhile state of Faridkot. He was commissioned in 1936 and joined the Engineer Corps. During World War II he saw service in Burma, Java and Malaya. He is noted not only for bravery but also for outspokenness. The story is told that as a young officer he quarrelled with the Commander of his Regiment over segregation between British and Indian officers, and won his point. He fought in Kashmir against Pakistan in 1947-48. In due course he became Deputy Chief of the Army Staff. He is the first Engineer Officer who is holding the seniormost post of Field Formation Commander in the Indian Army, as GOC XI Corps. In the Lahore sector he was responsible for the capture of Burki, Dograi and Ichhogil canal and the rout of Pakistan Army in Khem Karan sector. He was awarded Padma Bhushan.

P.O. DUNN

Lieutenant-General Patrick Oswald Dunn was born in May 1911. He graduated in arts and did law from Cambridge University. He was commissioned in July 1938. A crack infantryman, Dunn served as Commandant of the Infantry School, Senior Instructor at the Staff College and Deputy Chief of the Staff. He was a Major-General in May 1965, and was due to retire after 27 years of active and meritorious service. Due to Pakistan's attack in Kutch, the orders of his retirement were rescinded, and he was asked to lead the Indian forces there. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. During Indo-Pakistan War, Dunn was placed in charge of Sialkot sector. It was here that some of world's biggest tank battles were fought. Indian victory in this area was due to the meticulous planning, strategy and active lead given by Dunn as GOC I Corps. He received Padma Bhushan.

P. C. LALL

Air Vice-Marshal Pratap Chandra Lall, Vice-Chief of the Air Staff, learnt flying as a hobby in 1933. He was awarded Distinguished Flying Cross during World War II. Later he was absorbed into the permanent cadre of the IAF. Every Indian is proud of the famous Gnat. The credit for equipping the Indian Air Force with the Gnat was in a very large measure due to P. C. Lall. The first idea of buying the Gnat came from J. R. D. Tata, a member of the Board of Directors of Hindustan Aircraft. But the aircraft was evaluated by P. C. Lall. He described it as being small, easily manoeuvrable, possessing reasonably good fire-power, with capacity to climb up to

a height of 40,000 ft., and comparatively cheap, well within India's capacity to manufacture. This happened in 1953. While leading a team to evaluate new aircraft in 1954, he became one of the first pilot to fly faster than the speed of sound. In November 1957 his services were loaned to the Indian Airlines Corporation and he was its General Manager for five years. Since returning to the Air Force, he has held the posts of Officer-in-Charge, Maintenance, at Air Headquarters; and Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief of Western Air Command. He continues to be an active pilot on all types of service aircraft. Padma Bhushan was conferred upon him at the end of the Indo-Pakistan War. The citation said that he was "particularly responsible in introducing the surface-to-airguided missiles and the new radar."

R. RAJARAM

Air Vice-Marshal Ramaswamy Rajaram, Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Western Air Command, participated in the Imphal and Arakan operations from 1943 to 1945. In 1944, he was given the command of the No. 1 Squadron which, till then, had been in command of the present Chief of the Air Staff, Air Marshal (then Squadron Leader) Arjan Singh. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for "courage, determination and leadership" and for being "a most accomplished tactical reconnaissance pilot" during the operations on the Imphal front. In August 1963, he came to Air Headquarters as the Deputy Chief of the Air Staff. He assumed charge of his present post in 1964. The indomitable courage and confidence inspired by his unostentatious leadership in the boys of the Indian Air Force will go down in history as a brilliant example for generations to come. He was awarded Padma Bhushan. The citation said, "on whom the main responsibility for air operations fell."

VISHIST SEVA MEDAL

Major-General Joginder Singh,²² Group Captain George K. John, and Group Captain Walter Vernon Alexander Lloyd were the recipients of Vishist Seva Medal Class I.

H. K. SIBAL

Major-General Har Krishen Sibal, the hero of Burki, was born at Dinga in district Gujrat now in West Pakistan in 1917. He was studying in Government College, Lahore, when he got commission in the Indian Army in 1939. He saw action in the Middle East during World War II. The capture of a complex of three villages of Burki, Burki Kalan and Burki Khurd was a victory of superior strategy.

adopted by our Generals against heavy odds. We had to fight for every inch from the Khaltia custom check-post and bridge over the Hudiara drain right up to Burki and then to the Ichhogil canal. The Indian forces in this fight were successfully led by General Sibal. Here the greatest opposition was faced from pillboxes which was overcome by individual heroism of the highest order. It was a grim fight, terrible in its intensity and horrible in its effects. The enemy used for the first time anti-tank guided missiles and napalm bombs in the battle of Burki. Sibal was awarded Maha Vir Chakra.

MOHINDER SINGH

Major-General Mohinder Singh hails from the village of Birdhane of erstwhile Nabha State. A fine sportsman and *shikari*, he was commissioned in October 1940. He was awarded Military Cross for his heroic action during World War II in Burma. For his outstanding gallantry in the Arakan sector, he was mentioned in despatches. He was the first Indian battery commander and second in command of the 22 Mountain Regiment. He became its first Indian Commanding Officer in 1947. For sometime he was instructor in the Infantry School and Deputy Commandant in the School of Artillery. He did the course at the Defence Services Staff College, Quetta, and the Gunnery Staff Course in U. K. He commanded two artillery brigades and the School of Artillery. He was Deputy Master General of Ordnance at the Army Headquarters. Mohinder Singh's able stewardship and magnificent planning led our soldiers to a glorious victory in the bloodiest battle of Dograi. He deployed the infantry, artillery and tanks in such a form that the enemy's impregnable pillboxes and bunkers could not withstand our attack. The General remained with his men in the thick of the battle at every crucial moment and inspired courage and confidence in them. It was fortunate that his tank did not betray his height, 6 feet and a few inches, to enemy fire as a target.

S. K. KORLA

Major-General Siri Kanth Korla was born in January 1917 in the village of Sihundh in Kangra Valley in a family of Dogra Brahmins. Keeping the family tradition, the boy was trained for the army. He was educated at King George's Royal Military School, Jullundur, and the Cadets College, Nowgong. He was commissioned in 1940. He soon hit the headlines for conspicuous gallantry. In the battle of Paan in Burma he was awarded the Distinguished Services Order in 1942.

Soon he bagged the Military Cross for bravery in the battle of Meiktila in Burma. In another battle he was taken prisoner by the Japanese. Twelve hours later he killed the guard and escaped. After two days' harrowing journey, he joined his battalion. Field Marshal Slim of Allied Forces referred to him twice in his despatches as one of the best company commanders of World War II. He was one of the most decorated officers of this war. Korla commanded a Gorkha battalion in 1947. For two years he was the Indian representative at the Infantry School, Warminster, U.K. He commanded a Brigade in Kashmir, and was selected to command the premier institution of the infantry, the Infantry School, Mhow. He was appointed Brigadier General Staff of a Corps before he was selected for the National Defence College course, on the completion of which, he was promoted commander of a Division. In this war he led an Infantry Division from Samba side into Sialkot sector, and captured the first enemy village of Charwa on the border. In a few hours Maharajke also fell to him. Later he captured the Alhar railway station, thus cutting off the Sialkot-Pasrur-Narowal service.

M. M. ENGINEER

Air Vice-Marshal Engineer belongs to a distinguished family which contributed four brothers to the profession of flying. The eldest brother, Air Marshal A. M. Engineer, retired as Chief of the Air Staff, and joined as Indian Ambassador in Iran. M. M. Engineer is number two. The third brother, J. M. Engineer, is a senior officer in the Indian Air Force. All the three brothers won Distinguished Flying Cross, the highest flying decoration, during World War II, a rare distinction for a family indeed. The youngest brother, J. M. Engineer, chose civil service. He was the chief pilot of the Gujarat Government. On September 19, 1965, he was flying the unarmed civilian aeroplane carrying the Gujarat Chief Minister, Balwantray Mehta and party. Two Pakistani planes attacked it, killing all the occupants. M. M. Engineer was born on January 1, 1921. He joined the Indian Air Force in January 1940. He held with distinction the posts of Senior Staff Officer Training Command, Officer Commanding Air Force Station, Poona, and Senior Air Staff Officer Operational Command. M. M. Engineer is the most highly decorated officer in the Indian Air Force. As Wing Commander, he won Maha Vir Chakra in 1948, for his ably supporting land forces in Kashmir. In 1961, after completing the course at the National Defence College, he took over as Senior Air Staff Officer, Eastern Air Command. For his out-

standing quality of leadership during operations in NEFA, he was decorated with Vishist Sewa Medal Class I. Soon after the Chinese aggression, he became Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Eastern Air Command with the rank of Air Vice-Marshal. Towards the close of 1964, he was appointed Deputy Chief of the Air Staff at the Air Headquarters, New Delhi. In this war with Pakistan, as Deputy Chief of the Air Staff, he was responsible for co-ordination with the Army Headquarters. Due to his meticulous planning and administrative ability, the Indian Air Force could function in close contact with the Army.

RAJINDER SINGH SPARROW

Major-General Rajinder Singh comes of a well-known family of the historic town Majitha in Amritsar district. Educated at Khalsa College, Amritsar, he won a name as a famous hockey player of his time. He is equally at home in polo and golf. Known popularly as "Sparrow" in the Indian Army, he always fought like an "Eagle." In Kashmir War, 1947-48, he had led Indian tanks to the heights of Zoji La, 11,200 feet, and had saved Ladakh for India. Till then, no one could imagine that tanks could fight at those dizzy heights. For this act of conspicuous gallantry, he was awarded Maha Vir Chakra. As Commander of the 1st Armoured Division, he was mainly responsible for smashing Pakistan's VI Armoured Division after some of world's bloodiest tank battles in Sialkot sector. He was awarded another Maha Vir Chakra.

GURBAKHSH SINGH

Major-General Gurbakhsh Singh wiped out the most famous First Armoured Division of Pakistan in the historic battles of Khem Karan. The First Armoured Division was the pride of Pakistan Army. It was considered an infallible spear which could pierce into the heart of India at Delhi without any fear or hesitation. In two days' battles of Khem Karan, this spear was smashed to smithereens. He was awarded Maha Vir Chakra.

(4)

Gallantry Awarded

Of hundreds of *janans* and officers who displayed outstanding gallantry in facing the enemy, only a restricted number of them were awarded distinctions. Two of them were granted Param Vir Chakra, 18 Maha Vir Chakra and 58 Vir Chakra.

Army

PARAM VIR CHAKRA

1. Lieutenant Colonel A. B. Tarapore (posthumous)
2. Company Quarter Master Havildar Abdul Hamid (posthumous)

MAHA VIR CHAKRA

1. Major-General Rajinder Singh (the Sparrow who commanded the highly complex armoured formation in an outstanding manner in Sialkot)
2. Major-General Har Krishen Sibal
3. Major-General Gurbakhsh Singh
4. Brigadier Khem Karan Singh (responsible for destroying 75 enemy tanks in the first three days in the battles in Sialkot sector)
5. Lieutenant Colonel Gurbans Singh Sangha
6. Lieutenant Colonel Desmond Hyde (responsible for storming and capturing the west bank of the Ichhogil canal)
7. Lieutenant Colonel Harbans Lal Mehta (posthumous)
8. Lieutenant Colonel Salm Caleb
9. Lieutenant Colonel N.N. Khanna (posthumous)
10. Major Bhupinder Singh (posthumous)
11. Major Asa Ram Tyagi (posthumous—he pressed on to enemy tanks, though hit by bullets and personally destroyed the crew and captured two tanks intact)
12. Major Bhaskar Roy
13. Major Ranjit Singh Dayal
14. Captain Chander Narain Singh (posthumous)
15. Subedar Ajit Singh (posthumous)

VIR CHAKRA

1. Lieutenant Colonel Sampuran Singh
2. Lieutenant Colonel Chajju Ram
3. Major Mohammad Ali Raza Sheikh (who had covered himself with glory in a tank battle in Sialkot sector)

4. Major Megh Singh
5. Major Jatinder Kumar
6. Major S. C. Vadera
7. Major Mukhtar Singh Khaira
8. Major S. M. Sharma (posthumous)
9. Major M. A. Zaki
10. Major S. S. Ratra
11. Major Somesh Kapoor
12. Captain R. C. Bakshi
13. Lieutenant Surinderpal Sekhon
14. Lieutenant Teja Singh
15. Lieutenant Bhikam Singh
16. Second Lieutenant J. S. Dhalliwal
17. Second Lieutenant V. K. Vald
18. Second Lieutenant R. S. Bedi
19. Subedar Man Bahadur Gurung
20. Subedar D. Madhavan
21. Naib Subedar Jagdish Singh
22. Naib Subedar Mohammad Ayub Khan
23. Havildar C. Perumal
24. Havildar Potharaj
25. Havildar Ajmer Singh
26. Havildar Jesudass
27. Risaldar Achhar Singh
28. Naik Chand Singh
29. Naik Ganeshi Datt
30. Naik Prem Singh
31. Naik Devi Bahadur Gurung (posthumous)
32. Lance Naik Raj Bahadur Gurung
33. Lance Naik Pritam Singh

34. Lance Havildar Gurdev Singh
35. Lance Havildar Sidhu Ram
36. Lance Havildar K. C. George
37. Lance Havildar Umrao Singh (posthumous)
38. Rifleman Mattan Singh
39. Rifleman Mahilal Singh
40. Rifleman Dhan Bahadur Gurung
41. Sepoy Balam Ram

Air Force

MAHA VIR CHAKRA

1. Wing Commander W. MacDonald Goodman (who led a number of reconnaissance and ground attack missions on Pakistani tank and troop concentrations)
2. Wing Commander Prem Pal Singh
3. Squadron Leader Padmanabha Gautam

VIR CHAKRA

1. Wing Commander Bharat Singh
2. Squadron Leader Trevor Keelor
3. Squadron Leader M. S. Jatar
4. Squadron Leader Sudarshan Handa
5. Squadron Leader A. J. S. Sandhu
6. Squadron Leader Denzil Keelor
7. Flight Lieutenant Vitendra Singh Pathania
8. Flight Lieutenant Tirlochan Singh
9. Flight Lieutenant D. N. Rathore
10. Flight Lieutenant Alfred Tyrone Cooke
11. Flight Lieutenant A. K. Majumdar
12. Flight Lieutenant V. Kapala
13. Flight Lieutenant H. S. Mangat
14. Flying Officer Subodh Chandra Mangain
15. Flying Officer Adi Rustomji Gandhi
16. Flying Officer V. K. Neb
17. Flying Officer P. Pingle

GRANTS FOR GALLANTRY AWARD WINNERS

In addition to the allowances sanctioned by the Central Government to the Junior Commissioned Officers and other ranks who were awarded gallantry decorations, the State Governments and the Administrations of Union Territories sanctioned lump sum grants to winners of gallantry awards, including commissioned officers. The allowances and grants were admissible to the next-of-kin in the case of posthumous awards. Recipients of Param Vir Chakra except the commissioned officers, were given an allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem. In the case of Maha Vir Chakra and Vir Chakra, the allowances were Rs. 30 and Rs. 20 monthly. If an awardee won a gallantry decoration for the second time, the allowance was increased. The State Governments sanctioned lump sum grants to gallantry award winners from their States. The Maharashtra Government made a lump sum grant of Rs. 15,000 and an annuity of Rs. 500 for 20 years to Param Vir Chakra winners. The Grants in the case of Maha Vir Chakra and Vir Chakra winners were Rs. 7,500 and Rs. 3,000. The Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Madras, Panjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and the Union Territories of Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Goa, Pondicherry, Delhi, Andaman and Nicobar, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands sanctioned a lump sum grant of Rs. 10,000 and an annuity of Rs. 500 for 30 years for Param Vir Chakra winners, and lump sum grants of Rs. 7,500 and Rs. 3,000 to Maha Vir Chakra and Vir Chakra winners. The West Bengal Government gave a lump sum amount of Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 600 per annum to Param Vir Chakra winners, Rs. 5,000 lump sum or Rs. 300 per annum to Maha Vir Chakra winners, and Rs. 2,000 lump sum or Rs. 150 per annum to Vir Chakra winners. The Mysore Government similarly decided to give lump sum grants of Rs. 10,000, Rs. 7,500 and Rs. 3,000 respectively. The Rajasthan Government gave lump sum grants of Rs. 10,000, Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,000 to Param Vir Chakra, Maha Vir Chakra and Vir Chakra winners, and also some land in the Rajasthan canal area. The Kerala Government sanctioned grants of Rs. 6,000, Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 2,000 respectively.

SALE PROCEEDS

As for the existing regulations a serving JCO, other rank and non-combatant enrolled, on demise in peace area was compensated by crediting to his estate the sale proceeds of the articles of clothing and necessities to which he would have been normally entitled, had he been discharged on the date of his demise. No such provision had

existed in respect of personnel who died or were killed in the theatre of operations. It was decided to compensate such persons with three years' service or more to the extent of Rs. 80. Personnel with more than 12 months service would receive Rs. 40. The above concession was given effect from January 1, 1965. The pension rules were also modified. Payment was to be made at $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the rates laid down in the regulations plus *ad hoc* increase, if admissible, subject to the condition that in no case would the total exceed the basic pay last drawn by the deceased or disabled person.

BENEFITS TO *Jawans*

In appreciation of the great sacrifices which our soldiers, sailors and airmen made in the defence of the country, Panjab Government sanctioned ex-gratia grants of Rs. 2,000 to 5,000 to the families of the Defence Services personnel killed or disabled in action. Grants ranging from Rs. 10 per month for the primary education and up to a maximum of Rs. 250 per month for higher education in foreign countries, were allowed to their children after a period of seven years during which their families were entitled to enhanced pension at $\frac{2}{3}$ of the pay last drawn. The children of Defence Services personnel killed or disabled during the recent conflict, who were or might hereafter be admitted to the sainik schools anywhere in India and in the Public School, Nabha, were granted full scholarships. The families of the prisoners of war were also given ex-gratia grants of Rs. 500 each, and an allowance of Rs. 60 for each minor and dependent child. Similar benefits were made available to the families of missing personnel for a period of six months, with full benefits as otherwise admissible if later declared to have been killed or disabled. These benefits of ex-gratia grants were also extended to the families of Panjab Armed Police personnel killed or disabled. Other relevant aid to them and the Home Guards was provided. In addition, war *jagirs* were given to parents whose only son or whose three or more than three sons were serving or had served in the army during the recent emergency. The Government did not only look after the armed forces personnel when they were on active service, but took care of them afterwards as well. The Government constituted a Selection and Advisory Committee to explore avenues of employment for ex-service-men with the objective of their ultimate absorption in useful jobs.¹²

The Government of Rajasthan sanctioned cash awards to officers, JCOs and *jawans* who had been permanently disabled in accordance

with the following scales : (1) Rs. 1,000 in cash and defence saving bond for Rs. 1,500 to officers and JCOs, Rs. 1,000 in cash and a defence saving bond of Rs. 1,000 to other ranks. In the case of officers or men who were killed in the hostilities these awards were given to their dependents. Besides, financial assistance was given to the next of kin of the Defence Services personnel killed or reported missing, and to persons who were invalidated due to injuries sustained in action. The Government further provided facilities of free education to ex-servicemen or their dependants settled in Rajasthan. By a circular issued on September 18, 1965, the Government listed various relief measures and concessions sanctioned in the past and during the war for the Defence Services personnel, Rajasthan Armed Constabulary and Central Reserve Police from Rajasthan and for their dependants. Fifty per cent of the vacancies of the direct recruitment quota in all State services were reserved for the service candidates having the prescribed qualifications. Allotment of funds under the low and middle income housing schemes was made on priority basis to Defence Services personnel. Housing sites for service personnel were reserved in Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Kota, Ajmer, Udaipur and Mount Abu for allotment at fixed rates. Preference in granting loans for industrial purposes under the Rajasthan State Aid Industries (Loan) Rules, 1963, was sanctioned.

The Madhya Pradesh Government announced on September 29 1965, additional ex-gratia grants to the families of the personnel of security forces who were killed in action. The family of a *jawan* was to get Rs. 1,000, of a JCO Rs. 2,000 and of a commissioned officer Rs. 4,000. Children of junior commissioned officers, non commissioned officers and other ranks in all the three services and also of the non-combatant enrolled personnel, who were killed or permanently disabled got educational concessions for higher secondary and post-higher secondary studies. They received monthly stipends and text-books free of cost. No tuition fee was charged. The members of the family of military personnel killed in action were given priority in the allotment of land for cultivation.

The Delhi Municipal Corporation decided on September 27, 1965, to pay Rs. 2,500 to the family of each member of the armed forces, belonging to Delhi, who died during the war.

TRUST AID TO *Jawans'* CHILDREN

Numerous charitable trusts and institutions granted special favours and concessions to *jawans*. For example, the Rajinder Deva Orphanage

Trust, Patiala, on October 3, 1965, decided to make provision for the maintenance and education of the children of *jawans* who lost their lives in action during the Pakistani aggression. It was also decided that the Trust would arrange for the marriage of the daughters of the *jawans* after the completion of their education. The Pandit Kanhiya Lal Punj Charitable Trust of Delhi offered to meet the educational expenses of the dependent children of all *jawans* of the Union Territory of Delhi who laid down their lives while defending the country against Pakistani aggression. Innumerable individuals and *panchayats* bestowed presents on valiant heroes. For instance, film actor-wrestler, Dara Singh, offered Rs. 1,000 to each recipient of Param Vir Chakra, Rs. 500 to each Maha Vir Chakra winner, and Rs. 250 to each Vir Chakra recipient.¹⁴ The village *panchayats* of Kaleram and Balu in the Kalayat Block of Sangrur district allotted 10 acres of canal irrigated agricultural land to the families of sepoy Ram Chander and vehicle mechanic Naphe Singh, who were killed in the war.¹⁵

Pakistan's ten firsts

1. To cross the ceasefire line by sending thousands of armed infiltrators into Kashmir on August 3, 1965 and afterwards.

2. To cross the international border by launching a large-scale infantry attack in Chhamb with massive armour and artillery on September 1, 1965.

3. To introduce the Air Force in the fighting in Chhamb and later in indiscriminate strikes on civilian population at many places.

4. To extend the air conflict over other areas by firing rockets at an Indian air base in Amritsar on September 5, 1965.

5. To declare that Pakistan was at war with India on September 6, 1965 (by President Ayub Khan).

6. To take the fighting to the sea by impounding Indian merchant ships on September 6, 1965.

7. To use the navy to bombard the ports of Dwarka and Okha on September 8, 1965.

8. To start a conflict in the Eastern sector with air strikes at Kalaikunda, Bagdogra, and other places, and the air-dropping of men over wide areas of Assam.

9. To commit outrages on diplomats and journalists.

10. To intern Indian citizens and confiscate their property.

PART II

HOME FRONT

The art of war is a simple art ; everything is in the performance.

Napoleon Bonaparte

STAMINA OF THE NATION

When a nation is at war and its manhood is challenged, fighting forces alone cannot attain success. The people as a whole have to share the common burden. It is a total war nowadays. In a modern war there are no non-combatants. In truth, every citizen is a soldier. He has to perform his duties with a soldier's sense of discipline and dedication. Not only those who are called upon to take part directly in security and civil defence measures, but everyone else has to consider himself in the line of duty. The men and women who work on the farms and in factories, and those who run the transport, communications and public utility services have all got a part to play which is hardly less essential than that of the men at the front. Above all, upon all the citizens, without distinction, rests the primary obligation to maintain internal peace and communal harmony. Anti-social elements must be weeded out. The dangers of subversion must be eliminated. It is the state of their morale that invigorates front-line troops. Rumour, panic and a fugitive desire are enemies of morale. In the Second World War Winston Churchill offered his people tears, blood, sweat and toil. The English people rejected the first and accepted the remaining three cheerfully. So do all people who fight for a cause greater than themselves.

When Pakistan threatened India's freedom, everybody got ready unhesitatingly to contribute whatever he was capable of in the service of the mother country. Internecine quarrels suddenly ended. National unity and discipline were immediately forged and

maintained. Our people—cultivators, traders, workmen, young and old—everyone and everywhere exhibited rare qualities of resourcefulness, forbearance and fortitude. They gave valuable assistance to the army and police in many ways. The public services did wonderfully well. As reports poured in of the *jawans'* crushing reply to Pakistani invaders, people came forward in large numbers to volunteer gifts, cash and blood for the national effort. Organisations, political and social, and cultural bodies offered help of various kinds. Doctors and medical students expressed keen eagerness to go to the battlefields to nurse the injured soldiers. Housewives economised on daily consumption to spare for the troops.

FULL SUPPORT OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND LEADERS

All the leaders of various political parties gave full support to the Government in resisting the Pakistani aggression. The opposition leaders as J. B. Kripalani and Frank Anthony who had consistently advocated conciliation, on August 17, 1965, vociferously demanded retaliatory action against Pakistan. They declared that India should no longer be bound by the Kashmir ceasefire line because Pakistan had violated past agreements. "Those who live by the sword should perish by the sword," said Kripalani. Anthony demanded that India should answer the threat posed by Pakistani infiltrators by bombing the guerrilla bases even at the risk of war between the two countries. Sarvodaya leader Jayaprakash Narayan, President of the Indo-Pakistan Conciliation Group, issued a statement on the recent developments in Kashmir on August 19, 1965, in which he said : "It is the plain duty of the Government of India under these conditions to eliminate this threat from Pakistan by all means at their command and I fully support the measures that have been taken to this end." Addressing a public meeting at Dehri-on-Sone on September 4, 1965, he said, "the first thing to do at the present moment was to drive out all the Pakistani infiltrators from Kashmir and to plug all the vulnerable points through which they were coming." In reply to a communication from Rev. John Collins, British peace leader and founder of a campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in London, on September 21, 1965, Jayaprakash expressed doubt about any political settlement between India and Pakistan over the Kashmir issue until world opinion appreciated better the changed conditions created by Pakistan's repeated attempts to obtain a decision in Kashmir by armed incursions.

In the 21 August 1965 issue of *Swarajya*, C. Rajagopalachari, a hostile critic of the Government of India, wrote that "Pakistan's

idea under evil advice is obviously an attempt to convert Kashmir into a Vietnam. This should not be allowed." "We must deal with international opinion which is generally prejudiced against India on this question." He said that one could not think of anything "more stupid than running an irregular invasion of Kashmir when a high-level meeting over the Kutch Agreement had been scheduled to take place." In the issue of September 4 of *Swarajya*, the Swatantra leader accused Pakistan of "concealed violation of the international ceasefire line." "India's resistance to this dishonest infiltration and its efforts to block it were a defence of ceasefire line." He continued: "India's commitment to peace is unaltered and firm, but the ceasefire can be on a firm basis only if there is a frank and full admission on the part of Pakistan of its offence besides restitution for damage done and a pledge of non-repetition of the tactics and activities that led to the present unfortunate open conflict." The former Defence Minister Krishna Menon, while speaking in the no-confidence debate in the Lok Sabha on August 25, 1965, declared: "Our first concern is to see that those who have penetrated are either exterminated or interned." "It is not right to insist that the Army should take prisoners. They (the infiltrators) should be shot at sight because this is not a war according to ordinary terms."

The Samyukta Socialist Party supported the Government action on August 26, 1965, in crossing the ceasefire line in Kashmir by our armed forces. The same day, a statement issued by Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, General Secretary of All India Jan Sangh, said it was time to give a "*coup de grace* to the Kutch agreement and restore the original boundaries of Jammu and Kashmir State as they existed before the Pakistan invasion in 1947." He demanded that our military forces should be "allowed a free hand in putting an end to Pakistani invaders." He stated that in case of Pakistani aggression in any other sector, the Government should see that the "War is fought on the Pakistani soil and not on the Indian soil." The Central Secretariat of the Communist Party of India (Right) in a statement on September 3, 1965, praised the armed forces and the people of Kashmir, and condemned Pakistan for its invasion of Jammu in the Chhamb-Jaurian sector. "The present open aggression which has come so soon after the thinly-veiled but threatened invasion by thousands of Pakistani infiltrators, trained and equipped by the Pakistani Army and directed by its officers, would clearly show that the Ayub regime is bent on using war and aggression as an instrument of its national policy in relation to India," The Left Communist leader, M.S. Namboodiripad,

while assuring the Union Government of his party's full support, wrote in the September issue of the party organ *People's Democracy* : "We stand for the defence of the country against any foreign attack, whether that attack comes from China, Pakistan or any other country we stand by it." The Praja Socialist Party leader, S. N. Dwivedi, M. P., said at Lucknow on September 4 that there should be no ceasefire talks on Kashmir, no compromise with Pakistan and no acceptance of U Thant's peace overtures. Nath Pai, another M. P. of the same Party, said in Bombay on September 4 that in the supreme task of safeguarding the nation's frontiers, everything else must be subordinated to the task of giving Pakistan a decisive blow not only in the place of its aggression in Kashmir but beyond the frontiers. Hansraj Gupta, provincial secretary of the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh, on 4 September in a letter assured the Prime Minister of the full co-operation of his party.

At a conference called by Prime Minister Shastri on September 6, 1965, the leaders of the Dravida Munetra Kazhagam, Akali Dal and the Muslim League, along with the leaders of other parties, promised all support to the Government in the struggle with Pakistan. The Muslim League President, Mohammed Ismail, said that the "people will make all sacrifices in fighting the enemy." The D.M.K. chief, C. N. Annadurai, declared that there should be a moratorium on all controversies and that no controversial legislation be introduced in Parliament at present." "No party would betray the valour and heroism of our soldiers," said Annadurai, and added : "This is no time for agitations." M. S. Golwalkar, chief of the RSS assured the Prime Minister on September 6 that the nation must be "of one mind and be willing to make sacrifices to preserve the integrity of the country." Prem Nath Dogra, President of the Jammu and Kashmir Jan Sangh, asserted on September 8 that it was the sacred duty of every patriot to fight out this aggression. The Bhoodan leader, Vinoba Bhave while addressing Sarvodaya workers at Rajghat, Banaras, on September 8, 1965, said that India was facing a grave situation created by Pakistani aggression. The present crisis was similar to the one India had faced in 1947, he added.

BUSINESS COMMUNITY'S CONTRIBUTION

All sections of society came forward to share the burden in the defence of the country. About 200 factories of Ludhiana industrial estate, the biggest in India, on September 4 extended whole-hearted

co-operation and full support to the Government to fight the enemy with all their might. Om Prakash Gupta, President of the Ludhiana Estate Manufacturers' Association, assured the Government that they would increase production and maintain price line. Several thousand workers of the Bhilai Steel Plant at a rally on 4 September assured the Government of their full support in raising production to meet defence requirements of the country. C. L. Bajoria, President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, on 5 September at Calcutta, pledged its full support to the Prime Minister in meeting Pakistani aggression. He held out full assurance that the business community would do everything in its power and shoulder any responsibility that it might be called upon to undertake to safeguard country's freedom. The Merchants Chamber of Commerce also affirmed its complete support to the call of the nation. The Associated Chamber of Commerce, representing largely British business and industrial interests in eastern India, on 17 September pledged itself to provide the maximum support to the defence effort of the country, and to give highest priority to the supply of defence materials and equipment. It also undertook to make special efforts towards holding the price line and maintaining efficient distribution arrangements for goods of daily consumption. The industrial community of Bombay on 18 September offered its full cooperation to the Government in increasing indigenous production of goods required for defence purposes. On 19 September the industrialists of Kanpur offered to fabricate spares and components needed immediately for certain types of fighter aircraft. G.S. Melkote, President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, called upon workers to keep the wheels of production moving.

ALL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES UNITED

Muslims

One of the most important bases of Indian democracy is secularism. Here the minorities are placed on par with the majority community in every sphere of life. The Indian Muslims enjoy the same rights, privileges and freedom as the non-Muslims. Culturally, the Muslims have three universities at Aligarh, Delhi and Srinagar. Their religious universities at Deoband, Nadwat, Azamgarh and Bahraich are flourishing institutions. To avoid any interference with Islam, the law of monogamy applies only to non-Muslims. Id and Muharram are public holidays throughout the country. Urdu is one of the 15 languages recognised under the constitution. Untouchability has been

abolished both by law and practice. Now, as formerly in the British rule, there is no "Hindu water" and "Muslim water" at railway stations and other public places. Hindus and Muslims dine at the same table. Muslims occupy thousands of important positions in the Government, administration, foreign service, public life and in every profession. They are judges, jurists, educationists, lawyers, doctors, merchants, industrialists, ministers, governors and ambassadors. The film industry which closely touches national life from top to bottom has a large number of Muslims.¹ The same is the case with other minority communities—the Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and Buddhists. During the Pakistani invasion it was proved that the Indian secularism was deep-rooted and strong. But Pakistanis and the Western Powers refused to accept this truth. The Pakistani leaders, Radio and the State-controlled press tirelessly tried to incite the Muslims, Sikhs and other minority communities to revolt against the secular Government. Western correspondents waited in vain to file their vivid despatches on the outbreak of Hindu-Muslim riots. Ayub's dream that neither the civil and military authorities nor the people would prove equal to the challenge hurled by Pakistan was shattered.

The Muslims in India, including Kashmir, consider this country their homeland as the Afghans consider Afghanistan, Iranis consider Iran, Turks consider Turkey, and Arabs consider the Arab countries. They sincerely believe that Islam is an integral and important part of the rich complex of religions and cultures that constitute the reality of Indian life. They did not support Pakistan in its aims and claims on India in the past nor would they do so in future.

RELIGIOUS BODIES

All the Muslim organizations in India condemned the Pakistani aggression. The head priest of Dargah Ajmer Sharif in a radio broadcast termed the aggression as "a despicable act in the eyes of all the faithful." In conclusion he said: "We assure our national government that every devotee of Hazrat Khwaja Gharibnawaz will willingly lay down his life in defence of the country. We pray for the victory and glory of our armed forces fighting so heroically on different fronts." Maulana Asad Madani, general secretary of Jamiat-ul-Ulama-e-Hind, on August 12, 1965, in telegrams to Prime Minister Shastri, Defence Minister Chavan and Kashmir Chief Minister Sadiq offered the services of the entire Muslim community to frustrate the aim behind Pakistani armed infiltration into Kashmir. On August 20, the General Council

of the above Jamait in a resolution condemned the Pakistani infiltration and aggression in Kashmir and declared that the Jamait had always regarded Kashmir as an integral part of India. The resolution said: "If any external power attacks Kashmir or interferes with its internal affairs the Jamait regards it a national duty to defend the country. The Jamait cannot tolerate any threat to the freedom and territorial integrity of the country." It congratulated Muslims of Kashmir for their true patriotism. "It is praiseworthy that they did not heed appeals in the name of religion."

Maulana Abdur Rahim Amini, President, Jamait-ul-Ulama, Panjab, in a statement condemned Pakistan's aggression. He declared that Kashmir was an integral part of India and assured the Government that the Muslims of Panjab were determined to expel the aggressor. The Uttar Pradesh Momin Conference held at Lucknow on August 28, 1965, condemned Pakistan and China for indulging in destructive activities against Kashmir," which was an integral part of India.² A resolution congratulating the people of Jammu and Kashmir on their heroic resistance to Pakistani aggression was passed at a meeting organised by the West Bengal Jamait-ul-Ulama on 3 September at Calcutta Maidan. Another resolution called on the Pakistan Government to protect the lives, property and honour of the minorities in Pakistan as was done in India and uphold thereby the traditions and principles of Islam. It volunteered the services of every Muslim for the integrity and safety of the country.³

The Working Committee of the Bhopal unit of the Jamait-ul-Ulama expressed concern at a meeting on 4 September at the serious situation created by the Pakistani attack in Kashmir. By a resolution the Committee pledged full support to the Union Government in its action against the aggressor.⁴ Over 5,000 Muslims thronged the Anjuman-e-Islamia Hall at Patna on 4 September and expressed their great indignation at the blatant aggression in Kashmir by "Pakistani Kafirs." They made angry protests against "the barbarous air attack by Pakistani jets on the mosque"⁵ in Chhamb-Jaurian sector. The speakers proclaimed: "We shall consider no sacrifice too big to secure the liberation of the Pakistan-occupied portion of Kashmir."⁶ Maulana Asad Madani on 6 September asked Muslims to "extend full co-operation to the Government and do their utmost to bring the present struggle to a successful end." The Maulana said that during his tour of Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh he found keenness among Muslims to make sacrifices for the defence of the country.

Kehar Fakir, one of three well respected Khalifas representing the Pir Pagaro's religious sect, declared at a public meeting on 7 September at Jaisalmer that he and his 10,000 Muslim followers residing in the border villages of Barmer and Jaisalmer districts of Rajasthan, fully supported the Government of India's action against Pakistan. The meeting was attended by about 5,000 persons mostly from border villages.⁷ The Moradabad Jamait-ul-Ulama-e-Hind on 8 September highly praised Indian military action being taken to crush massive Pakistani attack on Indian border. A. M. Lalani, general secretary of the Madhya Pradesh and Vidarbha unit of Aga Khan's Federal Council of Khoja Ismaili Jamaat in India, at Raipur on 8 September pledged the community's support to the Government in meeting the unprovoked aggression by Pakistan. Muslims of Goa, Daman and Diu at a meeting of the Shis-Sunni Muslim Association held at Panjim on 10 September condemned Pakistan's aggression and pledged its fullest support to the Government in its efforts to beat back the enemy. It declared that Pakistan's fight was purely political and not religious.⁸

The All India Maulana Azad Social Welfare Mission held an emergency meeting at Calcutta on September 12, 1965, under the chairmanship of its general secretary Nasim Ali Azad. A resolution adopted at this meeting appealed to Turkey and Iran not to help Pakistan in any way, thereby jeopardising interests of Indian Muslims "who are the second majority community of the country." "If Pakistan is a country of 90 million Muslims, in India there are 60 million Muslims enjoying equal rights with communities," it said.⁹ The Madras State Waqf Board adopted a resolution on 13 September assuring all support to the Government in its national defence activities and offered Rs. 10,000 for national defence. The Board made a special appeal to all *Mutwallis* (heads of mosques) and Muslim citizens to pledge their unflinching loyalty to the State and help in national defence activities. The Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid, Delhi, in a message to the Minister for External Affairs on 20 September assured the support of the Muslims to the Government in repelling the Pakistani aggression.¹⁰

Alhaj Maulana Mohammad Karam Ali, President, Indian Association, Mecca, Saudi Arabia, who was then at Lucknow, in a statement on 23 September appealed to the Muslims of India to observe Friday, 24 September, a Thanks-giving Day, because they had come out successful in the present trial of loyalty towards their motherland.

The statement further said : "Indian Muslims have always claimed that they were faithful and loyal to their country. Their response to the call of the motherland against Pakistani aggression has been praiseworthy and heartening and they have conclusively proved that they are ready to sacrifice their all in the defence of the country to which they belong."¹¹ The Working Committee of the Jamaat-ul-Ulama-e-Hind in a resolution adopted at a meeting on October 3, 1965, deprecated Pakistan's frequent violations of the ceasefire and continued aggressive posture. On 28 November the said Jamaat pledged to keep up the solidarity of India and urged the Muslims to stand shoulder to shoulder with their compatriots in the defence of the country. It warned Pakistan and China that they should not test the determination and sentiments of the Indian Muslims.¹²

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

They also played their part well. In a resolution on September 4, 1965 students and teachers of Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, condemned the naked and blatant aggression of Pakistan on Indian territory, "our sacred homeland." On 5 September, a meeting of deans, principals and heads of teaching and administrative departments of the Aligarh Muslim University expressed the unanimous support of all those at the University to measures taken to repel Pakistan's "wanton aggression against our borders." At another meeting held on 9 September the Aligarh Muslim University Staff Association passed a resolution condemning "the blatant Pakistani aggression on our country" and pledging "whole-hearted support to our Government in this hour of trial." On 10 September a large gathering of Indian Muslim students studying theology at Najaf in Iraq passed the following resolution : "We Indian students totally condemn Pakistan's aggression against India and pray to Allah for the success of our beloved and peaceful country against the enemy so that our beloved Prime Minister may successfully complete his mission of world peace."

A meeting of leading citizens and education officials was convened jointly on 19 September by Nawab Ali Yavar Jung, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University. It was presided over by Nawab Said Ahmad Khan of Chhatari who stressed the importance of joint efforts between the University and the town in the defence work. He referred to the collusion between Pakistan and China, and said it was the duty of all citizens, individually and collectively, to further the efforts for fighting the enemy. The Vice-Chancellor stated that the danger confronting the country was greater than in 1962. The meeting

decided to undertake a programme of recruitment and training for auxiliary forces and the territorial army and for organising of relief measures." On 21 September, a meeting of the Urdu-Persian Society of the Lucknow University denounced Pakistan for its aggression against India.

MASSSES

Not only the organizations and cultural institutions, but the Muslim masses throughout the length and breadth of India condemned Pakistan for its shameless aggression. In a resolution passed on August 27, 1965, after the Friday prayers at a meeting at Shivpuri in Gwalior division, Muslims took a solemn pledge to support the Government in fighting the enemy. Leading Muslims of Gwalior pledged their support to "fight any aggressors, whether they are Pakistanis or Chinese." The Muslims of Guna, a district headquarters town, condemned in unequivocal terms the Pakistani aggression at a meeting. On August 30, 1965, several thousand Muslims held a meeting at Agra and condemned the Pakistani infiltration in Kashmir. They adopted a resolution expressing "extreme sorrow and anger at the barbarous attempt of the Pakistanis to invade Kashmir which is an inseparable part of India." *The Statesman's* correspondent in Jammu wrote: "At a public meeting today (30 August) Indian security forces were congratulated for capturing the Hajipur and other posts in occupied Kashmir." Abdul Aziz Shafi said that the Pakistani myth about an "internal revolt" in Kashmir had been exploded with the Hindus and Muslims supporting the security forces. Mirza Mohammad Iqbal said the people of the forward areas had complete faith in the ability of the security forces to meet any challenge from across the ceasefire line. The newsman concluded that reports of rejoicing over the liberation of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir areas were pouring in from all over the State.

A largely attended meeting of Muslims held at the Calcutta Maidan on 3 September condemned Pakistani aggression in Kashmir. Four Muslim leaders of Indore on 3 September denounced the "unprovoked aggression" of Pakistan and fully supported the steps taken by the Government for the "protection of lives and liberty of the people of Kashmir, the majority of whom are Muslims." The statement said that "Muslims of Indore declared they stand firm with the Government of India in the steps it takes for meeting the aggression of Pakistan."¹⁴ On 3 September Muslims of Raipur offered prayers at Jama mosque for the success of Indian forces in meeting the Pakistani aggression.¹⁵

Muslims of Hyderabad offered special prayers on 4 September in several mosques for the success of Indian army against the aggression of Pakistani forces in Kashmir¹⁶. Fifty prominent Muslims of Andhra Pradesh on 5 September denounced Pakistani aggression and declared that Indians, though believers in non-violence, would "stand as one man in defending the country." They regretted that Pakistan had failed to appreciate India's policy of peace and embarked on a dangerous adventure.¹⁷ The All-India Muslim Majlis-ul-Mushawarat, on 5 September at Bangalore, by a resolution assured the Government that Muslims of Mysore were one with the country in defending the sacred soil of their birth. The Majlis declared its unflinching faith in the ideals of secularism and democracy. Khan Haquiqatullah Khan, general secretary of the Rajasthan Council for Kashmir, on 5 September, at Jodhpur said that the Council would send 50,000 volunteers to help the Government push back Pakistani raiders. Islam stood for liberty and truth and these very things were being completely and deliberately suppressed in Pakistan.

The Muslims of Lucknow on 6 September declared at a meeting that Pakistan's action in sending infiltrators was a clear act of aggression and betrayal of the solemn agreement between the two countries. A resolution, passed at the meeting, convened by the Jamait-ul-Ulama, said that India had been forced to take up arms to defend its integrity and sovereignty.¹⁸ Mufti Mohammed Raza Ansari of Firangi Mahal, one of the oldest religious institutions, on 6 September condemned Pakistani aggression on "our motherland." The Mufti called upon Muslims in India to strengthen the hands of the Government in its efforts to throw back the aggressors. The Executive Committee of the Bihar Jamait-ul-Mansoor on 6 September at Patna passed a resolution condemning Pakistani aggression. The

resolution assured the Union Government that eight lakh Mansoors of Bihar would not lag behind in defending the country's honour and congratulated the *jawans* for their bravery. A largely attended meeting of Muslims at Jabalpur on 6 September adopted a resolution offering the Government their full support in beating back the Pakistani aggressors.¹⁹

On 7 September a deputation of local leaders of Kargil in Ladakh including leading Ulama offered their services to Chief Minister Sadiq for defence of the territorial integrity of the country. Over 100 representatives of the Muslim community in Garhwal pledged at a meeting on 7 September their support to the Government in fighting the Pakistani aggression.²⁰ A meeting of the Muslim Convention of South India held at Madras on 7 September condemned "aggressive incursion of Pakistanis into Indian territory" and congratulated the Union Government and the Government of Kashmir on the prompt action taken by them in driving away the infiltrators. An effigy of President Ayub Khan was burnt on 8 September by the students of Law College, Madras.

Kozhikode District Muslim League Council meeting at Calicut on 8 September adopted a resolution strongly protesting against the "unscrupulous, provocative and naked aggression on Kashmir and other parts of India." Nawab Syed Mohammad Mohsin, general secretary of the Moradabad District Students Union, on 8 September said that Pakistan's massive attack was inhuman, unjust, unscrupulous and sheer nonsense and hailed the valour shown by Indian forces. On 8 September about 10,000 Muslims of Jodhpur in a meeting denounced Pakistani aggression in Kashmir.

Muslims pledged themselves, at a meeting at Fatehgarh on 9 September to shed every drop of their blood in the defence of the country's freedom and help the Government in throwing out Pakistanis. Addressing the meeting Sajjadanashin Mirza Ashraf Ali Beg said that Pakistan was not an Islamic State in the true sense of the term. Kashmir was an integral part of India. He called on Muslims to beware of the malicious Pakistani propaganda.²¹

In Friday prayers on 10 September the Muslims of Jaipur prayed for India's success over Pakistan. At a meeting of about 10,000 Muslims of Tonk on 10 September, under the chairmanship of Nawab Muhammad Ismail Ali Khan, Pakistan was denounced for

its invasion of Jammu and Kashmir. On 10 September a large number of Muslims demonstrated in front of the Indonesian Embassy and the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi, denouncing the attack on the Indian Embassy in Jakarta and asking Pakistanis to go back home. The demonstrators, shouting slogans and carrying placards and party banners, were peaceful throughout. The same day a large congregation of Muslims at a mosque in Mercara, Coorg, offered prayers for the success of Indian forces in throwing out the Pakistani aggressors from the Indian soil, and condemned the hostile attitude of Indonesia and China towards India. Over 1,000 ex-armymen who had assembled for Friday prayers in the historic Golconda Fort mosque prayed for India's victory against Pakistan. About 10,000 Muslims of Trivandrum district took out a procession through the main thoroughfares of the capital on 10 September, condemning Pakistan's aggression on India and pledging full support to the defence measures. The processionists raised slogans like "Bharat is our land," "We will sacrifice our life to drive out the Pakistanis," "Bharat Mata ki Jai," "Down, down, blood-thirsty Ayub" and "Up, Up, Indians."¹ The Muslims of Rewa offered prayers on 10 September for the victory of Indian forces. At a meeting after Friday prayers they condemned Pakistani aggression and reiterated their pledge of complete support in the defence of the country. A resolution passed at the meeting said the bombing of a mosque in Kashmir by Pakistanis had shocked the conscience of Muslims all over the world.²

All the Muslim members of the Municipal Board of Saharanpur and other Muslim leaders denounced Pakistani aggression on 12 September. The Muslims of Jhansi, on 12 September, took out a procession, shouting slogans condemning Pakistani aggression on peace-loving India. They were joined by representatives of all parties. Speaking at a public meeting organised by Muslim leaders at Lucknow on September 12, they offered Muslim community's full co-operation in facing the Pakistani aggression. In a resolution they said: "The un-Islamic character and action of the Pakistani Government is an ugly spot on the face of Islam."

Eighteen prominent Muslim leaders of the country, in a joint statement on 13 September, urged the U.N. Secretary General, U Thant, to declare Pakistan the aggressor in the current conflict and compel it to vacate the occupied parts of Kashmir. "It is

the only course for restoring permanent peace in Asia," they said.²¹ At a public meeting attended by about 5,000 Muslims at Lakhimpur Kheri on 16 September, a resolution was adopted pledging support to Government.²² Vasi Ahmed, a prominent Muslim leader, told a meeting at Gorakhpur that Pakistan was mistaken if it thought that Muslims in India could be beguiled by religious slogans. Anvar-uz-Zaman, a prominent pleader of Banda, said at a public meeting that the Muslims of the district were prepared to sacrifice everything for defending the honour of the motherland. A meeting of the Muslims of Rae Bareilly district passed a resolution on 21 September condemning Pakistan.

Addressing the Delhi Muslim Convention on Kashmir and National Defence on 25 September, Humayun Kabir said it was political ambition which was guiding Pakistan's current action against India. "Pakistan has tried to mislead the world by importing religious passions into its conflict with India," he added. Kabir pointed out that despite Pakistan's claims of friendship with Muslim countries political reasons had made it sympathise not with the Arab countries, but with the aggressor during the Suez crisis. Again, Pakistan's conflict with Afghanistan, and its oppression of the Pakhtoons and freedom fighters of Sind and Baluchistan proved the absurdity of its claim. In a resolution the Convention called upon the United Nations "and all powers of the world" to take note that the 55 million Muslims of India regarded Kashmir as an integral part of this country.²³

Over 10,000 Muslims of Vellore, on 28 September, paraded through the main streets of the town carrying anti-Pakistan placards. Later at a public meeting several speakers denounced Pakistan's unfriendly attitude towards India and its aggression on Indian borders. They said that Pakistan was not an Islamic government.²⁴ On October 13, 1965, addressing a large gathering at the Jama Masjid, Delhi, Maulana Ikhlaq Hussain said no one had believed Pakistan's cry of *jehad* against a country whose 55 million Muslims lived in honour and prosperity, "where at this sacred masjid the name of Allah rings five times a day," and where Muslims considered themselves Indians first. "Pakistan will be answerable to all the Muslims of the world for its un-Islamic action," he said. Over 15,000 Muslims of Chhachhrauli Block at a meeting held at Gulabgarh village, 16 miles from Yamuna Nagar in Haryana Pradesh on 28 November 1965 pledged themselves to shed their blood for defending mother India against any aggression either by Pakistan or China.

EMINENT LEADERS

The eminent Muslim political leaders condemned Pakistan strongly. G. M. Sadiq, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, in a broadcast on August 23, 1965, said: "The people of Kashmir are fully aware of the character and designs of these armed Pakistani marauders who are, among other things, killing our innocent civilians intimidating and harassing our villagers, burning the humble dwelling places of our people, looting their foodgrains and other property and generally holding their lives in terror and jeopardy in pockets infested with the raiders. Our people clearly know that these armed Pakistani invaders, masquerading as villagers, are really trained as troops of Pakistan. The world knows by now, through hundreds of tourists, foreign newsmen and others, that in Srinagar and other towns and places in the Valley, life is going on normally except in the few areas where it has been temporarily disrupted by the hostile activities of Pakistani raiders." Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi, on August 31, 1965 addressing a gathering of 50,000 people on the occasion of Pakhtoonistan Day, at Kabul, denounced Pakistan for making use of Pathans for the fight in Kashmir and Kutch.²² Maulvi Hamid Ali, general secretary of the All India Muslim Muthidda Mahaz, welcomed the advance of Indian forces in the Lahore area of Pakistan. He said it was high time the Government of India took steps to liberate the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' which was an indivisible part of the country. He required the Muslim countries of the world to condemn Pakistan and support India because Pakistan had become a 'puppet in the hands of Communist China and was violating the noble ideals of Islam.

On September 8, 1965, thirty-six Muslim members of Parliament belonging to all parties condemned Pakistan's "naked aggression on India." "We wish to say categorically that the war which Pakistan has launched is purely for political reasons and has nothing to do with religion." They further declared: "For the last 18 years, Pakistan has been trying to occupy Kashmir on one pretext or the other. The people of Kashmir—Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs—have seen through their political ambition and motive of territorial aggrandisement and united to repel her attacks." On September 8, 1965, Amin-ud-din Ahmed Khan, the Nawab of Loharu, asked the people to "rise as one man irrespective of caste or creed to meet the brutal Pakistani challenge." Twenty-one Muslim legislators of Uttar Pradesh on 8 September in a joint statement condemned Pakistan!

aggression and expressed confidence that Muslims in India would make every sacrifice in defending their fatherland.

Maulana Minatullah Rehman, Amin-e-Shariat, Bihar and Orissa, the spiritual head of the Muslims in these two states, on September 13 called upon every Indian Muslim to prove true to the salt by extending full support and co-operation in the struggle against Pakistan. He declared that it was treason to give any support to Pakistan.²⁸ Nur-ud-din Ahmed, Mayor of Delhi, in a broadcast on September 16, 1965 said: "We are a secular state which means, in fact, a multi-religious state. We give complete freedom based on recognition of fundamental rights to all our people. We have adopted a socialistic pattern for our society. We are a welfare state. Surely, all this is in keeping with our traditions and past history. Surely, these are great cementing factors and with them we can strengthen our unity and show to the world that we stand for the noblest and the highest principles of humanity." The Chairman of the Ghazipur Municipal Board, Ahmad Hasan Khan, on 17 September condemned the Pakistani aggression and criticised countries supporting Pakistan.²⁹ Maulvi Salamatullah, Principal of Nur-ul-Ulum of Bahraich, on 17 September, warned Pakistan that Indian Muslims would fight shoulder to shoulder with others to beat back the enemy.³¹

In a broadcast on September 18, Vice-President Zakir Hussain told Musalmans of India that their Indian citizenship was a great moral and spiritual commitment. India, he stressed, could not surrender the principles on which "our State, our whole idea of a common life is based. Kashmir is not only a part, and a lovely part of India, but its being a part of India represents a noble principle not only of our culture but of the culture of mankind." "Let us clinch our teeth and take the unshakeable grim resolve not to rest or tarry until our principles are vindicated and the freedom of our motherland is unmistakably assured," he added.

Maulvi Habibullah, the Chief Qazi of Madras, on September 21, 1965, censured Pakistan for its aggressive anti-Indian policy, and assured the Government that the Indian Muslims would offer their full support in eradicating the Pakistani menace. Rafiq Zakaria, Maharashtra Minister, speaking in the UN General Assembly on October 15, 1965 said: "The Muslim population of Kashmir is an integral part of the 50 million Muslims who are spread throughout the length and breadth of the Indian Union. More than any other people they would resist any attempt made in any quarter to disturb

the growing integration of our many races, religions and communities into one single harmonious and integrated unit." He added : "Let me make it clear on behalf of the 50 million Muslims of India, to which I have the privilege to belong, that we will fight to the last man any move to disturb the non-communal character of our republic." M. R. Sherwani, a member of the Rajya Sabha and a senior Muslim leader, on October 20, 1965 said : "In India everyone was free not only to practise but preach Islam openly. There are more mosques in India than in Pakistan. More Muslims say their prayers in India than in Pakistan. In 1963, when I went to perform the Haj pilgrimage, 16,000 Muslims from India had gone for Haj, whereas only 14,000 went from Pakistan, although the Muslim population of Pakistan is almost twice that of India." Sherwani further remarked that if the right of self-determination was given to the East Pakistan Bengalis, they would secede from Pakistan. The same applied to Baluchis, Pakhtoons and Sindhis.

POPULAR AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Maulana Syed Shah Asrarul Haq, president, All India Muslim Mithidda Mahaz on 12 August said : "If the Pakistani rulers think that the Muslims of India will in any way even offer lip sympathy to the dastardly attack on Indian soil, they are grossly mistaken." A meeting of the Indian Muslim Youth Kashmir Front, Patna, on August 12, 1965, passed a resolution condemning the "naked aggression of Pakistani armed personnel in Kashmir." It exhorted Muslims of India to fight Pakistani raiders and appealed to the Government of India to liberate Pakistan-occupied Kashmir territory. A telegram was sent on behalf of the Front to Prime Minister, the Union Home Minister and the Chief Minister of Kashmir. The telegram said : "The Indian Muslim Youth Kashmir Front wholly behind you. We are prepared to make all sacrifices for driving out the Pakistani infiltrators. Awaiting instructions." The All-India Federation of Jammu and Kashmir Labourers at Simla on 12 August at a meeting condemned Pakistani infiltration in Kashmir and volunteered to depute its entire membership of 5,000 for any defensive job that the Government of India or the Kashmir Government might choose for them.²²

M. M. Hashim, general secretary of the Nationalist Kashmir Front, Hyderabad, declared on 14 August that the acts of sabotage by Pakistani infiltrators were a threat to Kashmir valley, "the symbol of our secularism and pride." Khalilullah Khan, vice-president of the

All-India Seerat Committee, offered the services of more than 10 lakh Muslims to fight the Pakistani aggressors. "Muslims have always been loyal citizens and in past when foreign Muslim invaders attacked India, Muslim citizens of the country fought them along with the Hindus," he said.²³ A seven-member deputation on behalf of the All-India Seerat Committee met the Prime Minister on 24 August and assured him of the full support of Indian Muslims in meeting Pakistani aggression.

The two-day convention of the newly-revived Janta Party which concluded at Patna on 2 September passed a resolution congratulating the *jawans* on their brave deeds in Kashmir and condemning Pakistan for her wanton aggression on peace-loving India. It also extended full support to the Government in meeting the challenge of the Pakistani aggression. The resolution also congratulated the people of Kashmir who had been fighting the enemy along with the army and made sacrifices for the freedom of their motherland.

On September 4, Mir Mushtaq Ahmed, President of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, condemned the Pakistani bombing of a mosque in Chhamb killing 51 Muslims at prayer. He said Pakistan claimed to be the protector of Muslims, but its killing of innocent Muslims had convinced Indian Muslims that Pakistan used the word Islam merely to exploit their sentiments. Like cowards, it sent infiltrators into Jammu and Kashmir, but declared that it had nothing to do with them. Within a week the world had come to know the mischief started by Pakistan. On 8 September at a meeting of the Madras City Council Muslim League, S. A. Khwaja Mohiuddin presiding, Pakistani aggression was condemned and co-operation was offered to the Government in all spheres to enable it to meet the Pakistani challenge. C. H. Mohammed Koya, general secretary of the Kerala State Muslim League, on 11 September, called upon the Muslims of India to "dedicate themselves whole-heartedly for the defence of the motherland against Pakistani invaders and to co-operate with the authorities to build up a powerful home front." The Muslim League, he said, had come forward with the pledge of utmost co-operation with the Government. He appealed to the Muslims to help in the collection of war fund, formation of citizens' committees, enlisting of volunteers and donation of blood for our brave *jawans*.²⁴

regarding arms supply to Pakistan. In letters addressed to the Ambassadors of the two countries in New Delhi on September 14, they said that the conflict between India and Pakistan was not a conflict of religions but a conflict of principles. The working committee of All-India Shia Conference in a resolution declared at Allahabad on September 17 that every Indian Shia was prepared to give away money, blood and life in preserving the country's integrity. Mohammed Ismail, Indian Muslim League President, on September 21, condemned the bombing of St. Paul's Cathedral in Ambala by Pakistani aircraft. In a statement he said : "Pakistan has in the course of her aggressive war committed many atrocities. One of them is the bombing of innocent human beings and worshipping places like mosques, churches and so on. Now they have bombed a most important and highly revered cathedral in Ambala. This is intolerable. This vandalism deserves unqualified condemnation by every sensible man."

Bashir Mohammed, President Islamia Committee, Bilaspur, in Himachal Pradesh, on September 27, 1965, in a letter addressed to the Lieutenant Governor, wrote, "Pakistani aggression against India was in reality an aggression against the Indian Muslims." The Muslim Front at a meeting held at Gorakhpur on October 24, 1965, expressed "its serious concern" over the recent Pakistani aggression on India. It condemned the slogan of "Islamic *Jehad*" raised by Pakistan and characterised it as "fraudulent and treacherous."¹ A meeting of the Indian Muslim Youth Kashmir Front held at Patna on 27 October condemned the invectives of Z. A. Bhutto, Pakistani Foreign Minister, on India in the Security Council. It said that it failed to comprehend how Pakistan, which boasted of being an Islamic State, could degrade itself so low as to use such disgraceful and highly inflammable words against the Indian delegation. How would the people of Pakistan and its leaders have felt, the Front asked, if the Indian delegation had described them as Pakistani swine or Pakistani pigs. It was all the more shameful that not a single member felt it necessary to prevent Bhutto from turning the august body into a fishermen's lobby."²

¹ The All-India Muslim Convention held at Calcutta on 7 November reaffirmed that Pakistan had no claim, legal, constitutional or otherwise, on any part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which was an integral part of India and should always remain so. Kasim Ali Mirza who presided said that Kashmir was no longer a subject,

for discussion at any international forum, except for the fact that the wrongful occupation of a part of India by Pakistan must be vacated. "Let us tell Pakistan that hard words and abuses break no bones. It is too late for President Ayub Khan or his Foreign Minister Dhutto to think of misleading the Indian Muslims, or anyone in the world. They have lost their case and they can only make it worse," he added. A resolution passed stated: "Pakistan even today continues to violate the ceasefire agreement and indulges in falsehood and abusive language and in methods which have no sanction under any international law or authority, and in means which are unethical and un-Islamic."⁸⁷

THE MUSLIM PRESS

The Muslim Press did not lag behind in condemning Pakistani aggression. Editors of five Urdu weeklies met in Hyderabad on 14 August and condemned the infiltration of Pakistanis in Kashmir. They appealed to the people to hold meetings and send protest resolutions, making it clear to the Pakistan Government that the Indian Muslims would not tolerate acts of sabotage.⁸⁸ PTI on August 29, 1965, gave out comments of certain newspapers. *Aftab*, an Urdu daily of Srinagar, said: "Ever since her defeat in the first deceitful attempt to grab Kashmir in 1947, Pakistan has left no stone unturned to disturb the peace of the State, by promoting sabotage and engineering all sorts of subversive activities through her agents." The paper appealed to the people to stand united and offer full co-operation to the Government to fight the new menace from Pakistan. *Aina*, another Urdu weekly of Srinagar, said: "The second attempt by Pakistan to grab Kashmir by sending Mujahids into the Valley will never come true as the people of Kashmir have full faith in our country and our Army."

The *Asar-e-Jadid*, Calcutta, dated September 5, 1965, in the editorial said: "The whole country has voiced a unanimous resolve to face the challenge of the Pakistan aggression. We should defend every inch of Kashmir which the enemy wants to grab." Usman Farqat in the editorial in "*Al-Jamail*", Delhi, of September 7, 1965, wrote: "U Thant's report on Kashmir is a historic document by which Pakistan is proved to be the aggressor. For once the world will know the truth about Kashmir and the attitude of Pakistan towards it. When the Security Council debates the question of Pakistan's aggression, let us hope that a resolution condemning Pakistan as the aggressor will be passed."

The editorial in *Sarfraz*, the chief organ of Indian Shias, on September 9, 1965 stated: "Pakistan has committed aggression against India. When the enemy is knocking at the door, maintenance of internal peace is the supreme need of the hour." Zahid Ali Khan, editor of *Khilafat*, Bombay, on September 9, 1965, in the editorial said: "Who is responsible for this war? Why has the cold war become a hot war? The answer is not far to seek. Had Pakistan not sent armed infiltrators into Kashmir, the present situation would not have developed." Hayatullah Ansari, member Legislative Council, U.P. and editor of *Qaumi Awaz*, on September 9, 1965 editorially observed: "The war between India and Pakistan is a war between two ideologies: democracy and socialism on the side of India, capitalism and fascism on the side of Pakistan. Pakistan has acted the way Hitler did. Hitler led Germany to war and ultimate destruction—Germany's and his own. Pakistan has also waged war after creating the war psychosis; doom will be the logical consequence."

Syed Anisur Rahman in an editorial in *Parcham-e-Hind* dated September 10, 1965, wrote: "There is a limit to patience and forbearance. Beyond this limit forbearance is a shame. Every individual and nation acts in defence of honour and self-respect. We will not allow the desecration of our sacred motherland. Pakistan has challenged our honour and dignity and we will give a befitting reply." *Urdu Times*, Bombay, on September 13, 1965, editorially remarked: "Pakistan is giving a religious colouring to its political war and is trying to exploit the Arab countries in the name of religion. The propaganda by Pakistan in the name of religion should be countered. In this work the Indian Muslims can help the Government of India by telling the Islamic world how sixty million Muslims are living in peace with other communities in India." Iqbal Ikram in *Imroz*, Calcutta, on September 13, 1965, in the editorial said: "Pakistan is solely responsible for the present situation. She sent armed infiltrators across the ceasefire line in order to indulge in acts of violence and sabotage and this is the cause of the present conflict."²⁷

PAKHTOONS

The All India Pakhtoons Jirga-e-Hind on August 20 offered to the Government, services of Pakhtoons, "well-versed in the use of arms," to fight Pakistan.

The Sikhs

Besides the Indian Muslims, Pakistan tried to incite the Sikhs. The Sada-e-Kashmir radio made frequent appeals from the 'revolutionary Council' to Sant Fateh Singh in particular and the Sikhs in general to start a 'similar fight' to gain a separate state for themselves. Nothing could further Pakistan's aggressive designs better than a state of tumult and turmoil in Panjab. The Sikh leaders all over the country sharply reacted to this mischievous propaganda. They declared that they were the true followers of Guru Tegh Bahadur who had sacrificed his life for the people of Kashmir during Aurangzeb's reign. Now again the honour of Kashmiris was in danger and the Sikhs would fight against Pakistanis and would win as they had done in the past. Several Sikh members of Parliament on September 8, 1965 denounced Pakistan's "pernicious radio propaganda," and told the country that "the Sikhs will fight to a man along with other sons of India" to repel aggression and protect the honour and integrity of their mother country. Sant Fateh Singh was to go on fast on 10 September and burn himself on September 25, 1965, to press the Government to concede the demand of Panjabi Suba. Pakistan's frequent appeals to him were made in vain. The Sant was not there to do any anti-national activity and oblige Ayub and Bhutto. By putting the country above his vow, the Sant gave a befitting reply to Pakistani canards about the Sikhs. On September 9, 1965, he announced that he would not start his proposed fast because of the national emergency. That was the doom of Pakistan's ambition to sow seeds of hatred between the Sikhs and the Hindus in Panjab.

Prominent Sikh leaders of Panjab on September 9, 1965, described Pakistan's attempt to exploit the patriotic sentiments of the Sikhs as nothing but "crude self-deception" on its part. Their spokesman, Gyani Kartar Singh, who for over thirty years had been the brain of the Akali Dal, declared that it was sheer hypocrisy on the part of Pakistan to show sympathy for the Sikhs. In the partition upheaval of 1947 "the Sikhs had been the main and marked targets of Pakistani atrocities." During the current conflict the bombing of *gurdwaras* near Ludhiana and Jammu had thoroughly exposed Pakistanis. The Gyani added Pakistan should know that the Sikhs were ready to sacrifice everything for the country. Innumerable Sikhs were fighting on front line. The Sikh generals were conducting operations on the ground and in the air. This very fact showed beyond doubt that the Sikhs were with the rest of the nation.⁴⁰

A UNI correspondent interviewed on September 14, 1965, some Pakistani paratroopers arrested near Kapurthala. A paratrooper stated that they left Peshawar at pistol point. They were told that they would get full co-operation from the Sikh population in carrying out the various tasks assigned to them. But they found that the Sikhs were capturing them and were handing them over to Indian forces. Pakistanis again tried to create a misunderstanding among the Sikhs, non-Sikhs and the Government of India. The Pakistani missions abroad published a report to the effect that a large number of Sikhs living in Birmingham had contributed £10 each towards the Pakistan National Defence Fund, as they felt that Pakistan's case against Indian "aggression" was right and just. Inquiries revealed that the above report was completely baseless and false. The correct position was that a *Defence of India Committee formed by the Sikhs in Birmingham* together with other Indians had contributed £3,000 for Indian defence purposes. Further, a contribution to the same end amounting to £234 was also received from a Sikh *gurdwara* in Birmingham.⁴¹

Christians

Thirteen Christian members of Parliament in a joint statement issued in New Delhi on 6 September, called upon all Christians in India to "make every sacrifice to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of our motherland." The statement said that Kashmir was an integral part of India and it was certain that the "justice of our cause will triumph."⁴² The All-India Nationalist Christian Association also pledged its support to the Government for the defence of the country.

Buddhists

Venerable Hedigalle Pannatissa Nayake Thero, Chief Sanghanayaka of India, on September 10, in a message to the seven million Buddhists of India called upon them to extend their fullest support to the Government of India, in its efforts to counter the Pakistani aggression, and to pledge their services for the defence of mother country.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Numerous other organisations and bodies in the country offered their services in the national cause. By way of illustration only a couple of cases are given here. On September 4, 1965, a group of students representing sixteen youth organisations called on Prime Minister Shastri and offered their services for field-work and for relief work in Jammu and Kashmir. They told Shastri that they would

donate their pocket allowance to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. They assured him of all support in meeting the Pakistani challenge. On 7 September twenty-five thousand ex-armymen from Garhwal offered their services to the Government "to beat back the Pakistani aggression."⁴³ In the second week of September several meetings were held in all the islands of the Union territories of Laccadives condemning the "naked and shameless aggression by Pakistan on our motherland."⁴⁴

On September 11, five hundred Khampas from Tibet, now living in India, offered their services in fighting Pakistan at 24 hours' notice. Their spokesman said: "India has saved us from the Chinese. We are, therefore, ready to lay down our lives to defend the territorial integrity of India, which is now our home." On September 18, 1965, the Gorkhas of New Delhi, at a meeting held under the auspices of Nepali Sammelan in a resolution called upon the three million Nepali-speaking people, particularly those living in the border areas of northern India, to come forward with their "well-known military tradition to defend the freedom of the country." In another resolution, the Sammelan said that the threat of Communist China would not "deter the valiant Gorkhas in the armed forces and those in the civilian life from defending our territorial integrity." The meeting resolved that the Gorkhas would solidly stand behind the Government of India and extend every possible help in the cause of defending the nation. On September 20, L.R. Josse, MLA, Calcutta, President, All-India Gorkha Ex-Servicemen's Welfare Association, offered the services of 50,000 Gorkha veterans, living in Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh and Panjab, who "are itching for an opportunity to prove their love and loyalty to the country at this hour of peril."

Pakistan had invaded India in the hope that the edifice of Indian secularism would fall like a house of cards at the first stroke of violence. It was sheerly disappointed to find the situation quite contrary to its expectations. Its treacherous attack, in fact, further strengthened the secular and democratic forces in India. Besides, the spectacular exhibition of the national stamina to fight the aggressor amazed the world.

PEOPLE'S WAR

(1)

Citizens' Silent Service

For the first time in India's history Pakistan's war with India became a people's war. The entire Indian nation irrespective of caste, creed or religion resented the treacherous attack and stood to oppose it tooth and nail. In almost a competitive spirit, people from all walks of life came forward to contribute what they were capable of to give. Cultivators, traders, workmen and others, young and old, everyone and everywhere, exhibited rare qualities of courage and zeal, discipline and resolve, for bearance and fortitude, initiative and resourcefulness, the will to do and the capacity to endure.

AT DELHI

The porters of the two main railway stations in Delhi, the capital of India, did not accept payment for carrying the luggage of *jawans* and officers. When officers insisted on paying, the porters with folded hands declined saying the service should be considered as their humble contribution to the nation's defence efforts. Besides, these poor porters set up canteens to serve free food to all military men. They did not collect money from any non-porter. Nearly 2,000 of them worked turn by turn in groups for three hours daily from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. In corners of the station yards kitchens were opened. Wooden benches were placed in front. Hundreds of *jawans* in batches were led to these places. Fresh *puris*, spicy vegetables and hot cups

of tea and coffee were offered to everyone with the greetings, "thank you". In the first six days of the war they served as many as 7,790 *jawans*. Later on the number rose to 2,000 daily.

The small and poor community of shoe shine boys showed their appreciation to the *jawans* in a touching manner. During the period of Indo-Pakistan conflict every *jawan* and officer in uniform outside the railway stations was stopped and guided to a place nearby where a number of shoe-shine boys were at work. Their shoes were taken off, patched, nailed and polished and then given the finishing touch with cream and a good rubbing with a soft cloth. The process was interrupted by peering at it to see whether the shine was mirror-like. In answer to a newsman's enquiry as to how many *jawans'* shoes he had polished, a boy fished out a notebook from his pile of articles and after a quick calculation stated, "a little over 200." He had been there for the previous three days and in his notebook had the treasured autographs of all the *jawans* whose shoes he had polished.

The Blood Banks received very poor people who had nothing to give, except their blood. On an average there were 450 donations daily. Each evening the Army collected the blood, flew the necessary quantity immediately to the forward areas and filled the requirements of other military hospitals. An upsurge of patriotic feeling had a deterrent effect on criminals also. In spite of blackouts and reduction in the number of police, the rate of crime in the capital fell from 503 in a week to 295. The number of accidents also decreased.

The women of Delhi came forward in a large number to organise "entertain-the-jawans" services. Hundreds of *jawans* moving to and from the forward areas were similingly received by young women volunteers. They were offered free breakfast, tea, lunch and dinner from 9 in the morning till eleven at night each day. Sweets, fruits and cigarettes were supplied at the end. On an average 1,500 army-men were served daily. Cooking, serving and other duties were undertaken by women of various localities in turn. Women also collected money for the National Defence Fund and gifts for *jawans*.¹

IN PANJAB

The Panjabis were deeply indignant at the shameless and treacherous attack by Pakistan on this country. Twice in eighteen years did the people of Panjab face great calamities. On the threshold of independence they were sucessfully tested in the crucible of partition.

On this occasion the popular upsurge was spontaneous. Its first manifestations were the scenes of unrestrained jubilation witnessed all over the State at the news that Indian forces were marching into Pakistan. There was no panic of any kind. Men, women and children stuck to their posts. To them war was just another trial of nerves to be put up with. They displayed martial valour and patriotic fervour of the highest order and superhuman power of endurance. To the people of Panjab it was enough that they had been chosen to play this role in the hope that what Panjab did today, the rest of India would do tomorrow, should destiny beckon likewise.

While travelling from Delhi to Pathankot in a military train one met with inspiring scenes everywhere. The enthusiasm of the people was unbounded. They were determined to contribute their full share in the service of the mother-country. They showered great affection on troops. Wherever the *jawans* were seen, they were received cheerfully. As trains passed through vast lush and luscious green fields, farmers straightened up from their work to cheer the *jawans* by clapping and waving at them. The graziers of cattle joined them in this outburst of applause. At railway stations the *jawans* received spontaneous welcome and gifts. At many places such as Sonapat, Panipat, Karnal, Kurukshetra and Ambala now in Haryana, and at Gobindgarh, Khanna, Ludhiana, Phagwara, Jullundur, Amritsar and Pathankot, the local Citizens' Councils had set up free stalls for tea, light refreshments and lunch for *jawans*. There were four canteens at Ludhiana where tea and snacks were provided free. The people of Phagwara arranged a canteen to supply the soldiers tea, fruit, cigarettes, eggs, meals and sweets free of charge. Young children donated their pocket money. Labourers, rickshaw-pullers and various associations co-operated in running the canteen. At Jullundur, in addition to tea and sweets, fruit was given to all the *jawans* passing through the city. At Amritsar the porters did not accept any payment for unloading the goods of army-men.

As *jawans* drew nearer the border, the enthusiasm of the people grew greater. Between Jullundur and Pathankot via Mukerian the train was often forced to stop even at such small flag stations as had no platforms. The villagers ran along the train, offering home-made *chapatis* and pickles. Old women went from compartment to compartment with *chapatis* and cooked vegetables hailing the *jawans* as their own brave and loving sons and persuaded them with great solicitation to eat something. The *jawans* who met with such touching reception at every station, could not eat non-stop. But they accepted the expression of love of the villagers with spirit of pride in

themselves and their countrymen. The trains were generally late from six to ten hours. The Timber Traders' Association started a canteen at Pathankot. Two more canteens were organised at military hospitals. About sixty boys and girls of the local college managed the canteens through contributions of the people.

The same scenes of encouragement and inspiration were witnessed on the road. The people stopped army trucks and vehicles, and offered *jawans* cooked food, fruit, tea and biscuits. If the *jawans* were in a hurry and did not stop to accept food gifts, the people threw them inside the vehicles. The Ambala Zila Parishad had started a free cafeteria at the Ambala airport for the Air Force personnel. A band of 24 workers served the Air Force men even during the enemy bombing. The cafeteria served more than 50,000 airmen in one month. Beddings, fruits and sweets were supplied free to the air crew. This relieved the airmen for more important operational duties and boosted their morale. Besides, the Zila Parishad helped the authorities in providing recruits to the army. In Mahlanwali village of Tahsil Jagadhari as many as 300 young men were recruited. They also organised village volunteer force and heavily invested in the National Defence Savings Certificates.

The barbers of Chandigarh gave hair-cut and shave free of charge to the wounded *jawans*. About a dozen barbers by turns attended to this work at the local hospital. The villagers of Bhulat and Raipur Aryan in Kapurthala district rendered unprecedented service to the armed forces. They supplied free of charge 14 maunds of *parathas* prepared in pure *ghee*, seven maunds of milk, two maunds of cooked gram, half a maund of *gur*, one maund of pickles and one maund of onions daily through the Armed Service Corps channels to the troops in the forward areas. Besides, they served food to the troops passing through their villages.² The old men and women would stop *jawans* and officers and say, "Sons, don't say no to me. Have regard for my grey hair and accept this glass of milk."

"If God grants me three lives", said a *jawan* from the South in one of the forward bunkers, "I will sacrifice the first for my country, the second for my unit, and the third for these brave people of the Panjab." The people of the Panjab were equally grateful to the *jawans*. "When they are staking their lives for us," said a 60-year old bearded farmer of Chowgawan near the Wagah border, "the least we can do is to look after their needs." Most of the people near the border had never seen anyone from the South and other

distant parts of the country till the various army units moved up. "What will they think of us when they go back home ?," the simple villagers wondered. The advancing army did not need field kitchens at several places. Despite heavy odds, Panjabi families kept supplying an unending stream of food, milk, tea, parched gram and cigarettes. There was hardly a village along the road without a canteen. Barring those on urgent missions, every soldier was stopped at these canteens. It was hard for the *jawans* to decline.

From school-going children to the grey-bearded grand parents everyone appeared to be intimately involved in the progress of the *jawans*. People closer to the fighting areas felt for a spontaneous responsibility. Despite heavy shelling and bombing and cross-fire several families decided to stay on in their villages to help the *jawans* and keep the roads clear for army movements. They lived through a shattering experience, but liked every moment of it. They suffered some losses, but they were thankful that they were not many. They acted as guides for military patrols. These sturdy men carried ammunition supplies on their heads for long distances. They also rushed to the blood bank to donate blood to save dying soldiers. They kept round the clock vigil to prevent any possible mischief by enemy agents. They guarded bridges, culverts, dams, roads, highway tracks and canals. Some were armed with rifles, some with spears and others with thick, long staves. In several Panjab villages people voluntarily came forward to cut down their standing crops in order to help eliminate the possible hideouts for paratroopers. In all the villages in Panjab night patrol squads were organised by the village *panchayats*.

KHEM KARAN BORDER

In villages all along the frontier from Ferozepur to Pathankot and even beyond women were seen sitting by the side of the oven baking bread to be sent to the *jawans* on the front. Their husbands loaded big bundles of these loaves, cooked vegetables, pulses, pickles, *gur*, onions and roasted groundnut in bullock carts and drove them to the nearest headquarters to be passed on to the front line. Often they transferred the eatables to passing trucks to be delivered to *jawans*. School children insisted on sharing their midday meal with the *jawans* and would not take a 'no' from them. A young artillery lieutenant said : "If you look into the innocent eyes of these children, you feel like dying for them." Bhure Asal village is situated at a distance of two miles from Khem Karan on the road to Amritsar. Pakistan Army was at a distance of one mile from Bhure Asal. All the men stayed

in the village. They reaped the Kharif harvest and sowed the Rabi one. Forty-two-year old sturdy Mahal Singh of Bibipur village, near Khem Karan, with his family members and about a dozen other residents stayed on in the village throughout including the war days. They supplied cooked food, milk and other articles right in the trenches to the *jawans*. They also helped the troops in locating areas in enemy territory.

KHALRA

In the Khalra area the people maintained their age-long traditions of cool courage and devotion. They stuck to their homes and fields even though they were living only at a stone's throw from the burning borders between India and Pakistan. They would often climb up their roofs to see the battle smoke rising in the sky. The village of Daoke is surrounded on three sides by Pakistan territory. Yet, not one man, woman or child left home. In another village the people reported that some villages on the Pakistani side of the border had been evacuated. In proof they stated that the police post bell had stopped striking hours. Nor did the school bell ring. No one was seen grazing cattle. Gold and opium smugglers were nowhere to be seen. In another border village people enjoyed listening to a transistor radio under a pipal tree. A group of sturdy young men of Khalra, the last Indian police post in Burki sector, cycled to Amritsar, 30 miles away, and back to fetch a load of cigarettes for the *jawans*, at a time when the entire supply had been exhausted in the stores and the village.³

Near the battlefield the morale of the people was exceptionally high. They had become thoroughly acclimatised to the shelling and air raids. They shared everything with the *jawans*—milk, food, butter, soap, hair oil, etc. At one place camouflaged under a tree a commander sat directing a bloody engagement. His aides conveyed his terse orders on field telephones. Nearby, in a corner of the same field, a middle-aged Sikh sat placidly milking his buffalos. Old women cooked food for hours together not only for their menfolk but also to feed the *jawans* hailing from all parts of the country bivouacking in their villages as well as those entrenched out in the barren stretch away from their homes. Young girls who used to take food to their fathers and brothers in the fields and who thought it immodest to speak to a stranger, carried heavy loads of hot delicious food to *jawans*. White-bearded Jats would take big cans of boiling milk or tea early in the morning or late in the evening right into the trenches, just to give them the touch of homely affection.⁴

AMRITSAR

In Amritsar the people exhibited an overpowering sense of normalcy. They watched "dog fights" between the Indian and Pakistani aeroplanes as if these were kite-flying competitions. They shouted "*yeh mara*" and "*vo!h mara*," as our gunners spit fire on the Pakistanis and our fighters chased them away. One day a Pakistani plane was coming down, after being damaged. A young man standing in his courtyard hit it with a bamboo and brought it down just as a kite was caught by boys.⁵ The people of Amritsar and its outskirts spent Rs. 7,000 daily on about 50 free canteens opened at different places on several highways and bypasses for the *jawans*. The money came voluntarily from the common man.

Life between Amritsar and Wagah border was busy with constant military movements. The guns boomed relentlessly, raising thick clouds of dust and smoke. Roaring Pakistani planes made repeated trips over our area. Anti-aircraft guns and even armoured cars were shooting them down or driving them away. As column after column of troops marched along the Amritsar-Wagah road, the citizens of Amritsar and the neighbouring villages, in thousands, lined up the route to give them a rousing welcome with full-throated shouts of 'Jai Hind.' Refreshment booths had sprung up all along the route for the entertainment of *jawans*. Cups of hot tea and snacks were pressed upon the troops by eager hands. Even beyond Wagah border, a number of free canteens were run by the people. In the midst of heavy shelling, residents of neighbouring areas carried food, milk and *lassi* right into the trenches where *jawans* had taken up positions. A veteran army officer in forward areas remarked to a party of Press representatives: "Never before have I and my men experienced such hospitality and affection." "Let the people know that we are deeply grateful and we shall not fail them," he added.

Pakistani troops occupied some villages in Ajnala area of Amritsar district on September 9, 1965, only for a few hours. The Commander established his post in a house in Kakkar village. He called *zaildar* Surinder Singh for a meeting. After greeting him, the officer told him that the Pakistan Government would help in establishing a Sikh State. "But you have not given an autonomous state to Pakhtoons and Baluchis," he replied, and added that the Sikhs were Indians first and last. The officer later called a meeting of villagers and told them that they were Pakistani subjects and that

if any soldier ill-treated them they should tell him. The Pakistani sway was short-lived, for our troops repulsed them within a few hours.

Shahab-ud-din, a 45-year-old Pakistani spy, had been sending wireless signals from the top of a tree in Mari Samra village in the Bhikhiwind police station area of district Amritsar. On September 15, 1965, he was noticed by a grazier-boy. He raised an alarm which collected a number of villagers on the spot. They caught hold of the spy and beat him to death before the police reached there.

Wife of Gurdial Singh Dhillon, Transport Minister of Panjab, returned from Chandigarh to her village Panjwar on the very day our forces crossed into Pakistan. She encouraged other women in the village to face the hardships bravely. Parbawal is another border village in Ajnala tahsil. D.S. Soni, block development officer, visited this village and many more on a bicycle with his little son. This heartened the people and they never thought of leaving it though it fell on the direct air route to Sargodha. Sarangdev is a village in Ajnala tahsil of Amritsar district. It is situated on the eastern bank of the Ravi and has its farms on the western side of the river. About 200 people standing on the river bank helplessly watched Pakistanis harvest their paddy, maize and sugarcane under the protection of their armed forces. These brave people did not vacate the village even under continuous shelling.

The local police also played a prominent part during this period. The fighting in the Lahore sector posed unprecedented problems for the police administration. The district police had to guard four different fronts at Khem Karan, Burki, Dograi and Ranian. They had to maintain law and order, keep the roads clear for military traffic, protect vital installations, watch the activities of Pakistani agents, patrol at night, enforce curfew and blackout and look after Indian-held Pakistani villages. The police performed all these duties creditably in the midst of heavy shelling and bombing by the enemy. Six policemen including a sub-inspector, one head constable, three constables and a sweeper were killed and 22 injured during the days of fighting. Most of the Muslim population of the 52 Pakistani villages in this sector had fled away towards Lahore. Owing to heavy shelling a number of villages on the Indian side were also evacuated. Some anti-social elements indulged in looting unlooked-after property. The police parties under senior gazetted officers recovered the abandoned and looted property worth about Rs. 27.66 lakhs.*

GURDASPUR

Khokhar Faujian is a small village of about 500 people, mainly ex-servicemen in Batala tahsil of Gurdaspur district. There Pakistani planes dropped three bombs hitting two cranes and Pakistan Radio broadcast announced the destruction of two tanks. Hazara Singh Sarpanch remarked: "They could not distinguish between cranes and tanks." This village ran a 24-hour canteen for *jawans*. It was the first to organise a squad to help those who could not harvest paddy or plough for the next crop for want of farm labour. The squad worked free. Thakarpur is a small village, 11 miles from Gurdaspur and 70 yards from the Pakistan border. It has a post of the Panjab Armed Police, known as Trimur Point on the river Ravi which marked the international border at that point. People stayed here throughout the conflict. In spite of having a fine bungalow in Gurdaspur city, Harbans Singh sarpanch would not desert his fellow villagers. He said that for an emergency the village had organised a fighting force and an evacuation force. At the commencement of the conflict Pakistani forces appeared in strength on the Indian side of the border. The Trimur Point had to be vacated by the armed police. The village combat squad led by Achhar Singh (68) and Harbans Singh (48) took up positions until reinforcements arrived.

PATHANKOT-JAMMU ROAD

The 60-mile road between Pathankot and Jammu was jammed with military trucks, guns, *jawans* and refugees. The *jawans* safeguarded the road and flushed out Pakistani agents. Huge earth-shaking military machines tore up thick foliage. Private trucks passed by in large numbers. Refugees, men, women and children, with their belongings tied up in small bundles and carried either on heads or backs, slowly but steadily wended their way to Pathankot. Scores of men and boys with *chapatis*, cooked pulses and vegetables, *gur*, pickles and onions served these refugees. They also stopped buses and trucks, offering these articles to everybody, soldiers and civilians alike, as a gesture of their goodwill and hospitality. At wayside stations small communities had put up booths to distribute water, *sharbat* and sweets to the *jawans* bound for the front.

THE PANJAB ARMED POLICE

Officers and men of the Panjab Armed Police did a great job in the wake of Pakistani aggression on Indian soil. With the support of villagers and local police they were primarily responsible for rounding up the bulk of paratroopers dropped by Pakistan in Panjab for

sabotaging vital installations. Though the saboteurs were armed with the most sophisticated automatic weapons, they met the challenge successfully. They captured 142 paratroopers and killed 26. In addition they maintained the supply lines to the front without the least delay. A number of bridges on strategic roads and railway lines and airports came under heavy enemy attacks. The armed police guarded them and stuck to their posts unflinchingly. They rendered great service to our people in enclaves across the Ravi and the Sutlej. They were mainly responsible for the high morale of the border population. The armed police did an extremely good job in dealing with Pakistani infiltrators in Jammu and Kashmir also.

The entire armed police posted on our borders was placed under the operational command of the army. They gave close support to the armed forces. At many places they fought shoulder to shoulder with the army. They helped in dislodging Pakistani Rangers from six piquets in the Ferozepur district, seven piquets in the Amritsar-Lahore sector and five pickets in the Gurdaspur district. The piquets occupied at the Ferozepur front were Chatti, Chuharka, Chatti Bharola, Malsinghwalla, Pinke and Kali Sahu. All these piquets were situated over 32 miles along the Indo-Pakistan border. In the Amritsar-Lahore sector piquets of Anokh and Kassoke and five piquets in the area of Ichhogil Uthar were occupied by the armed police. The five Pakistani piquets seized by the armed police on the border of Gurdaspur district were Takhatpur, Chauntra, Jhaun Kari, Dhandal and Khasa Vadala in the riverine tract of the Ravi.

It was the 20th Battalion of the Panjab Armed Police at Fazilka which bore the brunt of the enemy's massive attack on 6 September at Sadqi, Sowarwali, Khanpur, Jhangar and Khokhar. Defying heavy armoured attacks, they checked the enemy's advance towards Fazilka, which otherwise could have penetrated much deeper into Indian territory. The Indian army moved up into this area on 7 September. Even in the later fighting in the Fazilka sector, the armed police was deployed on both flanks of the Fazilka-Pakpattan road, while the main positions astride that highway were held by the army.

Some men of the armed police performed deeds of valour. In Khem Karan sector some enemy guns lay hidden in sugarcane fields. Indian forces could not locate them. Surjit Singh, a head constable, entered Pakistani territory in the night. He climbed up a tree and hid himself in the thick foliage. He remained there without

food and water for three days and successfully spotted the guns. They were later destroyed by our *jawans*. On September 25, 1965 the Indian police post of Kirian in the Fazilka sector was attacked by a large body of Pakistanis. The post was manned by only two persons, head constable Mukhtiar Singh and constable Ratan Chand of the Panjab Armed Police. Both of them fought against the enemy for six hours, even though they were wounded. A Pakistani battalion supported by artillery and tanks attacked Husainiwala bridge near Ferozepur at midnight. Telephones were destroyed by shelling. When the attack was in full swing and the entire area up to the barracks was under heavy fire, Ujjal Singh, deputy superintendent of police, went to the Brigade headquarters thrice, and rendered valuable service to the forces. In all these conflicts 66 men of the armed police were killed, 133 wounded, 17 were missing, and 18 became prisoners of war. Some of the missing returned safely after 5 or 6 days braving hardships and killing a number of infiltrators.

The Prime Minister in a broadcast to the nation on September 23 said : "I would also like to refer to the men of the armed police force who have had to meet the challenge of Pakistani infiltrators and paratroopers. At many places they had to stand shoulder to shoulder with our Armed forces to fight the invaders. In this task many of them laid down their lives. But they have succeeded in adding a glorious chapter to the history of Indian police "

MEDICAL AID

As Pakistan's aggressive designs were becoming clearer after the fighting in the Rann of Kutch, the Panjab Government quickly ensured that all the 27 border hospitals and dispensaries were adequately manned and equipped. When fighting began on the morning of September 6, 1965, about 200 extra doctors and 100 nurses were mobilised within 24 hours. Among them were 149 private practitioners who had offered their services. All the student nurses and auxiliary nursing trainees were rushed to hospitals, and no one grudged going to the frontline or working overtime. They did a commendable job. Medicines and blood in plenty were rushed to the forward areas. All stores of vital drugs like morphia, antibiotics and oxygen in the interior were frozen. The deficiency of imported oxygen cylinders was made up from the state-owned factory at Nangal.⁷

The hundreds of soldiers wounded in battle were given blood transfusions and emergency operations were performed. Sometimes

the medical men had their hands full with as many as 500 casualties in a day in different sectors of the war. The result was that not one wounded remained unattended. Frail little civilian nurses worked close to the battlefield. In the midst of heavy shelling these girls stuck to their duty undaunted. Doctors and nurses equipped with medicines and surgical instruments, etc, were also kept ready around various aerodromes and along the non-military roads used by evacuees and refugees. Invariably the medical staff was the last to leave in case of evacuation. The doctor and his wife at Khem Karan trudged through fields and unknown paths a little before the town was occupied by Pakistani troops. During the eighteen days of fighting on the Panjab border more than 3,000 surgical operations were performed in civil hospitals to restore to health civilian and military casualties. Flight Lieutenant Miss Kanta Handa was the first woman officer of the IAF to receive a commendation for meritorious service. She was recommended for "exemplary courage, determination and a high sense of duty" displayed during the conflict. She was at a forward airpost, but refused the offer of a transfer to a peace area, and continued to discharge her duties as a medical officer with skill and enthusiasm despite enemy attacks.

TELEPHONE GIRLS

Girls employed in telephone exchange in Panjab were asked to change from night to day shift. They refused saying that while their men folk were at the front they too would stick to their posts at night.

IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Within a radius of 20 miles from Jammu^a two of the fiercest battles were fought, one in the north-west in the Chhamb-Jaurian sector on the Indian side of the ceasefire line, and the other in the south-west in the Sialkot sector on the Pakistani side of international border. Over 100,000 people inhabiting Jammu displayed exemplary courage in pursuing normal course of life in the face of constant bombing and fighting. They lived so close to the war that they forgot it altogether in spite of the haphazard enemy air raids and intense military activity in the area. They attended to business in the markets, fields and offices as usual. Taxis, buses and petrol pumps were covered with mud and leaves. Army trucks bedecked in the camouflage of eaves and branches roared past. People only paused to let the dust clear before they could go on with their work. Besides, they showed patriotic fervour by organising massive voluntary effort in helping

the armed personnel as well as nearly one and a half lakhs of people uprooted from border areas.

The same scene of confidence and fortitude was visible along the border. A newsman wrote on September 13, 1965 : "During a tour of some of the villages on the international border with West Pakistan in the Jammu sector, this reporter was amazed to see people tilling the land, unmindful of the horrifying wail of enemy jets which swooped down and strafed some huts in their villages. The villagers simply lay down in their paddy fields and kept an eye on the menacing enemy aircraft. As the aircraft receded, they came out of the fields to survey the damage. Having satisfied themselves that not much damage had been done, they moved round to assure a visiting party of newsmen that everything was all right. They then rushed back to their fields to resume work."

Jammu had to face many hazards. One menace was of the paratroopers. When a word went round that a few paratroopers might be lurking in the town, the people came out at once. Some with guns slung over their shoulders combed the lanes and by-lanes. Others went about with sticks, sickles and knives. The mood was one of optimism. On 15 August raiders attacked a border village, 5 miles from Jammu, under cover of darkness. The villagers helped the security forces in tracing the intruders. Eleven infiltrators were killed in the encounter. A student while going home to a village from Jammu was killed by the raiders. The following day about 2,000 excited and enraged college students came out of their classes shouting, "Revenge, give us arms. We will annihilate Pakistan." Residents of Changi village, 33 miles from Jammu, captured two Pakistani paratroopers on September 10, 1965. Two villagers, Ram Prakash and Ganga Ram, saw two persons crossing a field near their village at about 6 o'clock in the morning. They grew suspicious because they knew that an army unit had left the village only two hours earlier. They called two other villagers and slowly crawled towards the paratroopers through thick grass. The paratroopers were lying flat in a cultivated field. The villagers all of a sudden sprang near them and held out their spears at them. The raiders in khaki uniform posed as policemen. The villagers enquired if they were Pakistanis telling them that they were on Pakistani soil. At this they disclosed their identity. By this time about a score of other villagers had come there. They were surrounded and overpowered. Automatic rifles and hand-grenades were seized from them, and they were handed over to the police.

The other serious menace was the frequent air raids. Pakistani jets appeared on the town at least twice daily. But the people did not seek for cover. They came out of their houses into streets and tried to spot the enemy planes. Young men often rushed to house tops. Jammu remained dark and silent at night. Very few people moved about in the streets. It looked as if the blackout had enveloped people in a shell of safety. They slept behind barricaded doors. The floors and walls of houses shook violently, but people remained undisturbed. Some enjoyed the lit up sky with a warm feeling of confidence inspired by the anti-aircraft guns. Whenever enemy jets came over the area, our ack-ack guns immediately went into frenzied action. The main target of the enemy was the Tawi bridge. No sooner did the Pakistani planes appear on the scene than these guns went into action. They hit the powerful American Sabres and Starfighters and brought them down like a piece of fireworks. Quite a large number of them were shot down or damaged. In consequence the guns became the nightmare of Pakistani pilots.

The Sabre jets flew over the town on 4 September for about four minutes. Anti-aircraft guns boomed from all directions and drove them away. Thousands of citizens rushed into the open to witness the sight with great excitement and thrilling joy. After some time one Sabre jet was seen flying towards the Tawi bridge. Twenty-five-year old Potharaj of Nizampatnam in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh shot a volley of shells from his ack-ack guns from all points. In a few moments the jet dipped and fell behind some trees. He was awarded Vir Chakra. The visiting war correspondents expressed their profound admiration for the ack-ack men of Indian defence forces. They were of the view that it was a very difficult task "to bring down sophisticated fighters like the Sabre jets with unsophisticated equipment like the ack-ack guns." From 4 p.m. on 11 September to 10 a.m. on 12 September in 18 hours Pakistani jets attacked the town eight times. Each time the enemy planes were sent scurrying across the border by heavy ack-ack fire. Every time as the planes came, crowds of local people shouted themselves hoarse raising patriotic slogans. In one such enthusiastic outbursts about 400 people came out of a cinema hall and raised their fists skyward with the familiar refrain, "get them" and "don't let them go," as our anti-aircraft guns went into action. Up to that time Pakistan had lost five jets in attempts to get at the bridge. Potharaj got the popular title of the "mad drummer" of Jammu. Four Pakistani B-57 bombers and two Sabre jets raided Jammu at noon on 13 September. Nine persons including a woman

and two children were killed. Enemy raids continued until the cease-fire on September 23, 1965.

When the enemy failed to hit the town, he dropped his incendiary war goods on neighbouring villages or roads nearby. The villagers living on the outskirts of Jammu had a hard time. They were victims of indiscriminate Pakistani jet strikes. The village folk showed great courage and did not leave their villages in the face of such a great danger. The village Borhe-ki-Kothi near Ranbirsinghpura, five miles from the border was attacked with rockets on September 7, 1965. A bowl-like bomb crater about 30 feet across and 15 feet deep was created near the huts. One man was killed. The village *gurdwara* was reduced to a mere heap of broken wood work and bricks. The roof had been blown off, but a faded triangular flag of the *gurdwara* flew from a wall. People recovered pictures of the Gurus and the holy Granth from the debris. Several houses collapsed. Green fields of maize, millet and paddy were scarred by rocket fire. On September 8 in Tinda village near Jammu enemy air strafing killed three women sitting in the shade of a tree, and two men died near the road. Bhurpa, a hardy farmer of Tinda, was showing round his damaged village to a press reporter on the afternoon of 8 September. He suddenly leapt and lay face downward. He pulled the newsman also along with him. He pointed: "Over there you see the fleeing Pakistani planes." Pakistani jets conducted indiscriminate air raids on civilian vehicles on different roads in this area on 15 September. In contravention of international convention, Pakistani aircraft dropped 750 pounds of American-made napalm bombs on civilian population in the Samba area, 25 miles from Jammu on 15 and 16 September. Nine civilians, including some Kashmiri Muslims, were killed and 24 injured. Thirty houses were razed to the ground. The historic temple on the Indo-Pakistan border at Suchetgarh, 18 miles south of Jammu, was damaged by Pakistani shelling on 30 September. In this area battered hamlets and smashed shrines testified to the barbarism perpetrated by Pakistanis. These wanton acts did not cow down the civilian population. On the contrary, they hardened the people's resolve to face the enemy challenge bravely and resolutely.

The Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, G. M. Sadiq, was flooded with offers of help from all over the State to combat the Pakistani intruders. These offers came from the predominantly Muslim areas of the State. Several non-political organisations as Civil Transport Workers' Union and State Teachers Association

collectors, station masters, parcel men, guards and others—maintained the supply line with exemplary zeal, devotion and dedication, day and night, facing all dangers cheerfully. They kept the wheels moving at the risk of their lives. It was owing to their selfless service that the damage caused to the railway stations particularly at Fazilka, Ferozepur and Amritsar by Pakistani bombing and shelling was insignificant. Twenty railway employees on duty at different railway stations in border areas were killed and a large number were seriously injured by enemy action during the Indo-Pakistan conflict.¹² The Government paid to each family of those killed a sum of Rs. 2,500 as compensation in addition to usual benefits. The Railway Department also agreed to provide service to their dependents and free education to their children.

Some of the railway workers displayed wonderful acts of heroism. A couple of them are cited here by way of example. Jagan Nath, a railman of Ferozepur saved petrol and oil stores of the railway at the risk of his life, when Pakistani jets bombed the locos shed on the afternoon of September 8, 1965. Four railway employees were killed and several others were injured. On 13 September a train carrying tank wagons of diesel oil was bombed by Pakistani planes at the Gurdaspur station. Chaman Lal, a fireman of the Northern Railway, was working on this train's engine. He noticed the fire and immediately rushed to the spot. He was almost engulfed in the flames. But with great courage and presence of mind he uncoupled the three affected tank wagons from the rest of the train in complete disregard of his personal safety. He was able to save the other wagons carrying highly explosive material. He also saved the railway staff present at the station, the railway installations as well as the civilian population around the place.¹³ Beyond Barmer towards the Pakistan border Gadra Road station displayed routine activity only when a train whistled in otherwise it remained sunk in slumber. In September the drone of Pakistani planes and the noise of shelling and bombing kept it constantly awakened from its whispery quietness. The army authorities gave the station staff timely warning to remain careful against enemy air raids, to keep water tanks full and the yard clear. But the enemy had chosen Gadra Road as a regular target. For instance on 9 September enemy planes attacked the station at 7.50 a.m., 9.40 a.m., 12.20 p.m., 2.20 p.m., 5 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. The railway staff and casual labourers stuck to their jobs despite impending dangers. In these attacks, the enemy,

succeeded in killing ten railwaymen and seriously injuring 17. Among the dead were Multana, Nandram and Hemaram who had stuck to their jobs throughout the day undisturbed. It was in a miraculous way the station regained its active look. The scars of bombing were hardly visible. Trains moved undaunted. The staff remained on duty as usual. Fourteen railway employees were killed at this station. Big plaques with the names and designations of the railwaymen killed at border stations during the Pakistani aggression were put up prominently at railway platforms. Memorial columns were also erected at the spots where they fell in the discharge of their duties at Gadra Road, Ferozepur, Khana and Gurdaspur.

POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS WORKERS

Satya Narayan Sinha, Union Minister for Communications, said in New Delhi on November 24, 1965, that the Posts and Telegraphs Department had done a "brilliant job" during the Indo-Pakistan hostilities. It was creditable, he said, that thousands of miles of trunk lines had been installed at short notice. In spite of the severe strain imposed by the emergency on the department, they had beyond doubt risen to the occasion. Mulchand, a mail peon, was going by the train which was bombed by Pakistani planes between Jodhpur and Barmer. He travelled on foot for four days to reach Gadra Road station on the Sind border, and delivered the entire mail intact. On Pathankot-Jammu road a telegraph line was badly damaged as a result of enemy action. A driver-cum-mechanic of the Posts and Telegraphs Department was deputed to repair it on September 16, 1965. On the way he was injured by a bomb from an enemy plane. Despite his wounds the mechanic proceeded to the scene of the damage and repaired the line. While returning he was again hit by Pakistani fire and both his legs were injured. This mechanic displayed a rare devotion to duty in the face of heavy danger.

CIVILIAN TRUCK DRIVERS

The story of civilian truck drivers is reminiscent of the epic of the Paris taxi-drivers in World War I. Like their French counterparts, the truck owners and drivers of Jammu and Kashmir, Panjab and Delhi, and Rajasthan and Gujarat rose as one man at the call of the country. At a moment's notice over 6,000 trucks were made available to our armed forces in Panjab alone. It was a symbol of the highest courage and patriotism. Normally their duty should have been to keep open the lines of communication in the rear. On this occasion,

however, they shared with armed forces all the hazards and dangers of the battle zone. Their convoys moved swiftly forward, carrying vital army supplies.

It was in 1961 that about 700 civilian trucks were taken on contract by military authorities in Kashmir to carry material for the construction of roads in Ladakh. In 1965, 1,000 civilian vehicles were in service. About the middle of August, 1965 Pakistani forces began to collect in the neighbourhood of Chhamb. It was found essential to operate on a wider front in Jammu and Kashmir. The experience of using civilian truck drivers in aid of armed forces was applied on a bigger scale. Pakistan Army crossed the international border at Chhamb on September 1, 1965. This factor developed the Kashmir operation into a virtual war between India and Pakistan. This brought Panjab and Delhi into the picture, as a much larger number of civilian trucks was needed. Between September 2 and 6 as many as 7,000 trucks and buses out of a total strength of 12,000 in Panjab and 1,000 trucks in Delhi were placed at the disposal of armed forces. The buses were mainly put on the job of evacuating people from the border villages. The private truck and bus drivers did not know their ultimate destination. Their trucks and buses were loaded with men and material. They were told: "No lights. Speed is essential. Whatever happens, the arms, ammunition and troops must go through." Military police, on duty at different places on the road, guided the convoys to different areas, mostly to Kasur, Khem Karan, Burki, Dograi, Dera Baba Nanak, Pathankot, Jammu and Sialkot.

The trucks transported over long distances, often at night, with very little rest, arms, ammunition, petrol, rations, and other equipment for troops in forward areas particularly in Jammu-Sialkot sector. The zeal and daring spirit of the truck drivers, conductors and cleaners against heavy odds was indeed praiseworthy. The 60 mile Pathankot-Jammu road runs quite close to the Pakistan border. So they worked under great risk and hazards. On several occasions, the enemy aircraft boomed over their convoy, swooping low with a screaming howl and jettisoning rockets and bombs. At such times they parked their vehicles under trees. They took shelter at a distance below trees and in shrubs and fields or in nearby pits and ditches. After the raid they moved out of their hiding places, surveyed the damage and resumed their journey to the front. They lived with the *jawans* in forward areas. They learnt to laugh and

ging in the face of peril. Some were killed and many injured. Their trucks were hit and either destroyed or damaged. But nothing slackened their speed. At one place on the front three trucks were attacked by enemy planes. The truck in the centre was hit and set ablaze. The drivers of the other two trucks, at great personal risk dashed out of the trenches to save their trucks and succeeded in driving them away. At another place a civilian truck was destroyed and the driver of a military truck was killed. The civilian truck driver seized the military truck and drove it to its destination. A newspaper reporter asked some of these drivers on the Pathankot-Jammu road to pose for a photograph. "Sorry, we can't wait. Supplies must reach the *Jawans* immediately. Delay of even a minute may mean havoc for our forces," they shouted back. Despite heavy shelling and strafing by the enemy, civilian truck drivers continued to deliver supplies to our troops right up to the front line.

Jammu and Kashmir

In Jammu and Kashmir traffic moved in three directions. In normal routine it turned to Srinagar. The main line was towards Chhamb, Naushahra, Rajauri and Poonch. The heaviest congestion was between Jammu and Pathankot. At Srinagar 300 people worked day and night to keep the vehicles moving. The drivers and cleaners literally slept in their trucks. The mechanics worked round the clock repairing vehicles passing through. Often they rushed to forward areas to carry out repairs on the spot. Mohammed Butt of Srinagar was driving a bus loaded with passengers from Srinagar to Paithan, 18 miles away on August 19, 1965. A short distance from Paithan four armed infiltrators suddenly blocked their way. Butt realized the danger they were in. He advised the passengers to keep quiet and himself went out to meet the intruders. He told them that he knew who they were, and requested them to let the innocent and unarmed passengers to proceed unharmed. The ruffians acceded to his request on the condition that the bus be surrendered to them. Butt saw no other way for safety. He persuaded the passengers to get out with their belongings. The raiders pushed on in the bus which was recovered in a damaged condition after six days. All the passengers were led on foot to Paithan in safety. Thus the fearless driver saved so many lives at the sacrifice of some damage to the bus.³ Harbans Singh of Jammu worked with his truck in Sialkot sector. His young son served as a cleaner. One day he was

loading his truck when an enemy plane attacked them. They ran for shelter, while the truck burst into flames. His son was also hit and died on the spot. It was a hard blow for Harbaas Singh, but he did not leave the path of duty. He continued to serve as a driver during the rest of the days of conflict.²⁰

Panjab

On the night of September 10, 1965, two civilian truck drivers were asked to rush barbed wire to our troops at Hudiana three miles inside Pakistani territory. It was dark. Enemy shelling was increasing in intensity. The drivers crossed the border near Khalra. They were already tired after the day's long journey. In the absence of light, they did not know that they had passed Hudiana, which was about a mile off the main road to Lahore. They went ahead and reached the police station at Burki. They were surrounded by Pakistani police. One of them immediately turned back. The other along with his conductor was caught. No one knows what happened to them. The surmise is that they were put to death after interrogation. The charred body of their truck near the Ichhogil canal at Burki symbolised their adventurous spirit. Panjab Roadways in Amritsar set up a number of mobile workshops in buses. Expert technicians worked in these buses. These mobile workshops plied day and night on the roads connecting Khem Karan, Khalra, Dogra and Dera Baba Nanak. They carried out minor repairs to damaged trucks and even tanks and sometimes radar components in forward areas.

Mohan Lal of Amritsar joined with his truck on September 3, 1965. On September 8, a convoy of 10 civilian trucks was ordered to carry troops to the forward areas. They moved from Pathankot on the Jammu road at ten in the night. Exact destination was unknown. About half-way between Pathankot and Jammu they were asked to turn left towards Pakistan's border. The Indian tanks had cleared the path along rough tracks. The convoy led by Mohan Lal left the main road, and followed the bumpy path across seemingly deserted villages. Suddenly they were greeted by rifle shots. They were in Pakistan. At first there were single shots. The convoy did not stop. Then there was heavy firing from light machineguns. The trucks were quickly scattered. The *jawans* jumped out of the trucks and deployed for an attack. The enemy was entrenched in strength in the village. The *jawans* fought back fiercely. The drivers had taken shelter in pits and ditches nearby. But the trucks carried ammunition and food also. Mohan Lal rushed out into the open and persuaded other drivers to

save the supplies. They faced bullets and drove the trucks out of the range of enemy fire into the sugarcane fields.¹⁷

Sadhu Singh of Kapurthala had fought in the Middle East in World War II. He worked in Sialkot sector. There were no roads. The tanks had broken a path through sugarcane fields. He was required to drive as fast as he could through a wall of dust. The Pakistani Mujahids lay hidden in sugarcane fields and shot at tyres and tubes of trucks. One day he was leading a convoy carrying ammunition. Sabre jets suddenly swooped down upon them near Bajnur village. They drove into sugarcane fields. In confusion one truck was left in the open. Sadhu Singh rushed to the truck, but it would not start. He shouted for help and pushed the truck into the sugarcane field. His courage, initiative and promptness saved the ammunition that day.¹⁸

A convoy of 16 vehicles, consisting of civilian trucks, oil tankers and a Panjab Roadways bus, set out from Pathankot to Jammu on September 15, 1965. Jiwan Singh was driving an oil tanker ahead of all. At Debak bridge, about 48 miles from Pathankot, a Sabre jet suddenly emerged out of the blue. It swooped down low and started bombarding. Jiwan Singh sped on. The plane made a second attack. Jiwan Singh took the tanker off the road. The driver and cleaner jumped out. The tanker caught fire and rolled into a trench, near the bridge. Jiwan Singh's turban and shirt were in flames. He rolled in the dust and tore off the burning clothes. The enemy plane strafed the other vehicles. Many persons in the bus lay dead and injured, and some vehicles were reduced to ashes. In Panjab 20 civilian drivers were killed, and a large number of them bore battle scars. About 100 trucks were destroyed and damaged, while a number of them were captured by the enemy. Besides, 12 buses were burnt by strafing and 20 were seriously damaged.¹⁹

Delhi

Though the major portion of the truck operators belonged to Panjab, yet Delhi contributed its own share. The capital spared as many as 300 truck drivers, and several of them won a name. Surat Singh with his truck served in the Sialkot sector for 16 days. Each day was eventful one for him. He was subjected to strafing by enemy aircraft. On the night of September 16, 1965, a plane opened fire on his truck. He zigzagged his way across the road. The plane missed its mark. He was attacked again. Two tyres of his truck were blasted. He took cover by the side of the road and single handed replaced the

tyres in the pitch darkness. "My only concern then," said he, "was for the safety of the supplies that I was carrying and their delivery as early as possible."²⁰ The story of Nirvair Singh is equally interesting. He worked in the Chhamb sector where the road was hilly and trucks moved without light. He was going in a convoy of 34 trucks. His truck rolled down into a deep ditch. Nirvair had a miraculous escape. Supplies in his truck were safe. He stayed behind, while others sped on. In the night he watched his goods and repaired the damaged patch of the ground. Early next morning, with the help of some villagers, he salvaged his truck and reached his destination. Chet Ram's story is inspiring even to a greater degree. An order came at midnight for immediate unloading of supplies at Pathankot. There were no railway or military employees to unload them. Chet Ram persuaded his fellow drivers to unload the crates from wagons. He then went round Pathankot and collected 200 more volunteers. The crates were loaded in trucks in a couple of hours.

Rajasthan

The mobilisation of civilian transport in Rajasthan began on September 5, 1965. The military authorities in the Barmer district near Gadra needed 4x4 trucks which could operate in the desert. By evening 48 trucks were supplied to the army. In a few days about 1,000 trucks were collected at Barmer. Pali gave 50 tractor trailers. Non-stop shuttle service was maintained between Barmer and Gadra by 134 light trucks from September 5 to 22.

Gujarat

From distant Ahmedabad came 80 trucks and 200 buses. These vehicles were accompanied by a team of 16 electricians, tyre fitters, mechanics and cleaners. In addition there were three traffic operators. They could take on-the-spot decisions to buy spares and other items. The civilian truck drivers kept up a shuttle service from the base to the forward lines. A team of mechanics consisting of Hindus and Muslims left Ahmedabad for Rajasthan with a convoy of 80 buses, laden with supplies and soldiers. An army officer said: "You are now going to Mehsana. You will get further instructions there. Remember, you are on urgent military duty. A great deal depends on the speed with which you fulfil this assignment. Under no circumstances must you stop anywhere on the way. If your vehicle develops a defect, get off the road and quickly repair it. Do not block the way of the convoy. Whatever happens the convoy must go through."

At Mehsana they were ordered to proceed to Mount Abu. From there they were directed to Barmer. After continuous driving for four days and nights they reached Barmer on September 6, 1965. A fleet of 325 vehicles was gathered there. On September 7 the entire fleet moved to Gadra Road, 95 miles from Barmer. The military engineers had laid perforated steel plates for the trucks to drive over sands of the desert. The enemy planes attacked them constantly at meal times, during breakfast, lunch, tea and dinner. They flew as low as 300 feet. It looked as if the planes could be touched with hand. All dispersed into trenches along with their office equipment including typewriters. The vehicles shuttled between Gadra Road and Barmer day and night.²¹ On September 18, 1965, a convoy left Barmer carrying ammunition to Munabao. In this convoy were Kesa Ram and Anna Ram working on a truck. Near Munabao the convoy was attacked by enemy planes. Kesa Ram's truck was hit twice, but he kept on moving. Then a bullet hit his tyre, and he had to stop. Kesa Ram's hand was bleeding. They both took shelter. The plane attacked again. There was an explosion. Anna Ram lay dead. Kesa Ram walked alone for 12 miles to Tanalore where he was admitted into hospital. After recovery he was back to his duty.

So goes the story of truck operators. They bravely rose to the occasion in exigency. With utter disregard of their personal safety, they maintained the lifeline uninterrupted. The courage, enthusiasm and devotion to duty displayed by these ordinary citizens of India won the approbation of everybody. The soldiers and officers in the field treated them as their comrades in arms. They were shown every courtesy and consideration and were admired for their heroic spirit. They were given food, shelter and medical facilities as provided to combatants. An Army Major with an armoured division in the Sialkot sector stated: "We had 200 civilian trucks attached to us when we moved from Jullundur. With their help we reached our destination in record time. They assisted us considerably in replenishing our forward commitments. They were patriotic, brave, and faced strafing and shelling unflinchingly. They kept working for hours without rest. They behaved admirably."²² Lt. General Harbaksh Singh, General Officer Commanding, Western Command, said "The Army owes a lot to these gallant and selfless drivers of civilian vehicle"²³ General J. N. Chaudhuri, Chief of the Army Staff, speaking at a Press Conference on September 24, 1965, paid glowing tributes to them. These men, he said, had never failed in their duty even though this devotion had often cost them

their lives and their vehicles. On October 11, 1965, in a message to the members of the Panjab Public Carriers' Association, the General said : "As I have publicly said before, you rendered unstinting help to the Army during the recent operations. Many of you braved shells and bullets... While some of you lost your lives for the cause. The Army and, I am sure, the people of the country are grateful to you for this help which you spontaneously and unstintingly rendered....."

(3)

National Defence Effort

The war with Pakistan and the threat of Chinese invasion roused the people of India to a high pitch of patriotic fervour. Everybody gave his willing co-operation in all the national activities. Millions offered money and blood. Industrialists placed their factories at the disposal of Government for war production. Traders swore not to profiteer. Students were ready to enrol themselves as soldiers. No one talked about food scarcity. Petty inconveniences were forgotten. All men and women showed zeal and determination in every walk of life to defeat the enemy. All the major cities and towns in northern, eastern and western India, as well as key industrial areas observed complete blackout, in view of the all-out aerial war launched by Pakistan. Lighting of funeral pyres at night was banned. No funeral pyre was allowed to be kept burning beyond half an hour after sunset. This order did not affect cremation at the electric crematorium. The public response to the national defence fund was tremendous. Besides, cash, gold and silver, people contributed in kind—immovable property, standing crops, livestock, vehicles, medicines, TV sets, radios, transistor radios, cigarettes, biscuits, etc.

WOMEN TAKE TO ARMS

On India's far-flung borders with Pakistan and China, village women are developing an overpowering urge in lending a hand in keeping the country's frontiers secure against intruders and invaders. They are learning to use a gun, to drive a jeep and ride a bicycle. Women's training in border areas is organised by Bhartiya Gramin Mahila Sangh. This is a voluntary organisation with headquarters in New Delhi. It was founded in 1958 by Raghubansi Devi, wife of the then President Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Now its president is Maharani of Patiala, Mohinder Kaur. After 1962, it directed its attention to make village women of the border areas security-conscious. The object is

to build up a second line of resistance composed entirely of women between the age of 18 and 40. The need to impart rifle training to women along the border was first felt at a camp held at Kot village, 12 miles from Jammu town after the Chinese attack in 1962. This camp was attended by 47 women. They pressed the organisers of the camp that they should be trained to protect their villages from hostile forces. The Sangh declined to take up new responsibilities.

Afterwards with the support of the Planning Commission, the Sangh bent its energy towards this task. The first lessons in handling a rifle and driving a jeep were given at a camp held near Gauhati for women evacuees of the North-East Frontier Agency. Another camp was held at Tezpur. When news of these camps got around women from the neighbourhood turned up asking to be taught the use of firearms. The main burden of this work fell on a strong-willed woman, Miss Sarojbala, a Master of Arts of Delhi University and trained in rural welfare techniques at the Delhi School of Social Work. She gained experience by setting up training centres in social work in the villages of Delhi territory. She travelled alone to border camps by train, bus and in mountainous areas often on foot. Sarojbala organised camps in the borderlands of Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and in Kutch. At Shainsa village in Lahaul across the Rohtang Pass even men came to the camp and they asked for training along with their womenfolk. One camp was held only 30 miles from Shipki La Pass on the Tibetan border. She held three camps in Pithorgarh, two in Chamoli and one each in Uttarkashi, at Badrinath, Kedarnath and Darchu La, at heights ranging from 8,500 feet to 12,000 feet.

During the conflict a camp was conducted near Bhuj in Kutch. There were 50 trainees, the maximum number fixed for each training course. Hundreds of women, married, unmarried and housewives had applied for admission to the course. But only one woman from each of the surrounding villages along the Sind border was selected. There was a large number of applicants in the hilly areas also. Women travelled from 30 to 40 miles on narrow paths to join the course. Each camp lasted for three to four weeks. Five to six hours were devoted daily to lectures, demonstrations and group discussions. Training was imparted in the following branches of work: formation of village vigilance committees, village volunteer force, fire-fighting squad, protection against air raids, first aid and home nursing. The trainees were taught how to organise mass action to prevent unscrupulous traders from exploiting an emergency by raising prices of essential commodities, to combat false rumours spread with the

aim of causing panic, care of the families of servicemen, and to propagate national solidarity. The trainers went back to their villages and ran training courses in turn for housewives and unmarried women. The cost of the training camp was borne partly out of a grant the Sangh received from the Planning Commission and partly through local subscriptions.

VILLAGE VOLUNTEER FORCE

Village Volunteer Force was inaugurated after the Chinese invasion on Republic Day in 1963 by the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The scheme had a three-fold programme of production, mass education and village defence. This organisation was put to the best advantage of the country during the Pakistani air activity. The police and people co-operated well in apprehending paratroopers, in protecting vulnerable points, and in the preservation of law and order. Home Guards was a similar organisation for towns and cities. The target of Home Guards units in the country was fixed at one million. The Home Guard volunteers guarded vital installations at grave personal risk. In Panjab 14 Home Guards were killed by enemy bombing.²³ The Delhi Mayor's Council for National Defence enrolled a large number of volunteers, both men and women. The minimum age was fixed at 18 years. They were trained in civil defence. Besides, over 1,600 teachers of Delhi completed civil defence training course under the guidance of the Mobile Civil Emergency Force. Many workers of the emergency force kept vigil at night in depot centres and control rooms. Women's work parties met to knit woollen garments for the jawans wounded in action and also to collect comfort articles for them. Home nursing and first aid classes were started in women's colleges at Delhi. Gram Raksha Dals were formed in each of Delhi's 250 villages to assist the police in rounding up the saboteurs. The Union Government prescribed the duties to be performed by officers and cadets of the NCC including girls who were more than 17 years of age for civil defence. Their duties included rescue work, first aid, evacuation of casualties, fire-fighting, removal of debris, manning of civil defence posts, civil defence patrols, maintenance of essential services, traffic control, signal installations, messenger service, work in hospitals, and running of camps.

EX-SERVICEMEN

Over 10,000 ex-servicemen and dozens of retired military generals in Panjab came forward to join the second active line of defence on 8 September. They were organised into a regular civil defence force.

There was a massive reserve of this trained personnel in the state. For internal security battalions of armed police force were formed. Each battalion consisted of 750 personnel drawn from ex-armymen below 50 years.

BLOOD DONATION

The college students, boys and girls, villagers, prisoners, and others in thousands offered blood for *jawans*. In many cases the hospital authorities were unable to take blood from all the donors. At many places prisoners showed unprecedented enthusiasm to participate in the national defence programme. Delhi citizens donated 100 litres of blood everyday. A chubby-faced 17 years old college girl was in a flurry as she stood in the queue of blood donors at the Willingdon Hospital, New Delhi, on September 21, 1965. Sensing that the girl was uneasy probably because this was her first blood donation, a social worker at the hospital, stepped forward to comfort the girl. The brief interview revealed that she was to sit for her examination at 12 noon and it was already past eleven. Her mother had advised her not to give her blood on that day because that would cause weakness and she would not be able to do well in the examination. "I'll go through both the tests, you will see." After giving her blood, she called a scooter and hurried away. Eight blood banks, including three mobile banks in Bombay collected 1,000 bottles of blood everyday. The target was to collect 1.5 lakh bottles up to 20 October 1965. It happened so all over the country.

Eyes

Numerous offers of eye donations were received. Ramlal, a convict and Chandrashekhar, an undertrial, in Rewa district jail, on 29 September offered their eyes to any *jawan* who lost his eyes while fighting the Pakistani aggressors. Akbarally Asgarally, a Muslim of Ahmedabad, offered one of his eyes for the use of any *jawan* who had lost his eye, in action against Pakistan.²⁰ Many such offers came from all parts of the country.

NATIONAL DEFENCE FUND

Liberal contributions were made to the National Defence Fund by men, women and children, young and old, rich and poor, with great joy and zeal. Every village, town, city and district raised funds voluntarily. For instance the small district of Sangrur contributed until the end of October, 1965 a sum of Rs. 32,70,000; while an additional sum of Rs. 54,215 was received in the deputy commissioner's office,

and Rs. 1,77,000 was sent directly to the Panjab Chief Minister. Although the economy of Amritsar city depending mainly on trade and industry had been shattered, it contributed Rs. 10,000 daily to the national defence fund, and spent Rs. 7,000 daily on fifty odd canteens. Till the end of October 1965 it contributed Rs. 8.5 lakhs to the defence fund. Even beggars of Patiala donated Rs. 55 to the defence fund on September 17, 1965. The thinly populated Simla district contributed a sum of Rs. 14 lakhs. N.N. Mohan, on behalf of Dyer Meakin Breweries, Solan, paid on 23 September a sum of Rs. one lakh, one hundred and one. In addition he presented 50,000 bottles of brandy and rum for the *jawans*. He also conducted a free canteen for *jawans* at Solan. In Haryana about 1,000 prisoners of Ambala Central Jail on 5 September donated all their earnings for August. School children of Karnal contributed over Rs. 2 lakhs for the purchase of an anti-aircraft gun, and another sum of over 8 lakhs of rupees. The schools of Rohtak contributed Rs. 5,31,000. Panjab's contributions in the first 15 days of the war amounted to Rs. 60 lakhs. The main donors were Gurgaon, Hissar and Mohindergarh districts of Harayana, each contributing more than ten lakhs. On 28 September the people of Gurgaon presented Rs. 15,10,167 to the defence fund.

Teachers of the Delhi Municipal Corporation schools presented on 24 September Rs. 52,000 in cash and articles of daily need worth Rs. 65,000. The Ramjas educational institutions contributed Rs. 23,565 to the defence fund. Cinema exhibitors held shows on Sundays and donated the proceeds to the defence fund. The barbers of Delhi worked on their off days to cut people's hair and give them shave and donated the money to the defence fund. A house-maid working in a few houses had saved about Rs. 500. She contributed the entire amount to defence fund. In Rajasthan people presented to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, then Minister for Information and Broadcasting, during her three-day tour, a sum of Rs. 2,60,000. It was touching, she said, to see girls offering gold chains, peasant boys turning up with Re. 1 donations and students offering their pocket money. Bombay contributed Rs. 70 lakhs in one day. Other states also made liberal contributions. Innumerable people came forward to offer material help. For instance a railway sweeper, D. Daniel, at Doddaballa in Bangalore rural district, donated a Sindhi cow, valued at Rs. 1,000 to the National Defence Fund.⁴⁷

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ABROAD

The Indian Workers' Association of Southall, a London suburb, on 20 September presented a cheque for £2,000 for the national defence

fund.²³ Indians in Birmingham at a meeting held on 26 September collected £4,137 for the national defence fund. Indian residents in Britain contributed over £50,000 to the defence fund. The Sikhs of Birmingham contributed to India's national defence fund £3,000, and a Sikh *gurdwara* in Birmingham £234 on 27 September. The India Defence League, London, donated £34,000 to help victims of Pakistani aggression on 28 September. Several hundred pounds sterling were collected at a fund raising meeting. Indians in the audience contributed wedding rings, gold rings, a cheque for £105 and in one case a month's salary.²⁴

TOTAL

In the month of September 1965, total contributions to the national defence fund amounted to Rs. 61.49 crores. Panjab contributed over Rs. 7 crores. Out of cash contributions, totalling about Rs. 71 crores made towards the national defence fund till 15 December 1965, a sum of Rs. 32 crores was sanctioned for various purposes connected with defence effort and for the welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families. Rs. 27.27 crores went towards the purchase of defence equipment. Some of it was meant for air defence measures for major cities in North India and the industrial complexes in the region. The equipment substantially added to the logistical capability of road and air supplies to the army deployed on the borders. The purchases covered helicopters which were needed badly for communication flights and the evacuation of casualties. A sum of Rs. 66 lakhs was used for amenities to the *jawans*. Rs. 24 lakhs were given in financial grants to the dependents of those killed, disabled or reported missing, and Rs. 13 lakhs for giving rifle training to university students. About Rs. 4.32 lakhs were given for the creation of a special fund for the resettlement and rehabilitation of ex-servicemen in civil life.

LAND AND GOLD

A large number of people donated land. Bakhtawar Singh Dhillon, a 60-year-old inhabitant of Pir I-mail Khan village in Jullundur district, offered his entire property worth Rs. 2.5 lakhs for the welfare of Indian troops. He owned 187 acres of land in addition to cattle, tractors, grain threshers and several houses.²⁵ Ranjit Kaur, the 60-year-old widow of Havildar Randhir Singh of Malwan, a small village near Fardkot, on September 8, 1965, donated her entire property consisting of two houses, 15 acres of land and other movable

property together with annual war *jagir* awarded to her previously. Kailash Kumari, a Panjab village woman, who had lost her husband in NEFA during the Chinese aggression, on September 21, 1965, gave all her jewellery and her husband's pension to the national defence fund. When Mrs. Indira Gandhi asked her how she would maintain herself, she confidently replied that she could "always manage something" by stitching clothes or doing some other work. Till 30 September 1965 contributions in the form of gold ornaments amounted to 207,812 tolas. Panjab contributed several hundred kilograms of gold. In the beginning of October 1965, a special drive to collect gold for guns was started by the Government of India. The move was begun in view of the foreign exchange scarcity. The plan adopted was to ask people to donate outright or lend for 15 years the bullion and gold ornaments for national defence. The Government offered to repay the donors in gold at the end of 15 years. Those who gave jewellery, would get an extra 10 per cent in cash of the value of their donations. On December 12, 1965, Prime Minister Shastri received five lakhs of rupees and 1.5 lakh grams of gold for the defence fund at a public meeting at Rajahmundry. At the paper mill, Mrs. B. D. Somani, one of the directors, contributed 5,555 grams of gold to the defence fund.

GIFTS FOR THE JAWANS

People from all over the country showed their gratitude to fighting men by sending gifts. A dakota-load of sweets was sent by the people of Maharashtra for wounded *jawans* in hospitals, at New Delhi, on 28 September. Two truckloads of assorted gifts for *jawans* were sent to Western Command areas from Bombay on 28 September. The 450 gift packages carried by two 10-ton trucks contained 101 items including tinned food, cigarettes and *biris*, medical and canteen stores and two scrap books sent by school children. They were transported to forward areas free of charge by Patel Roadways. On 29 September the Cashew Export Promotion Council despatched 1,04,775 cashew-nut packets to the Central Citizens' Council, New Delhi for *jawans* on the front. Orchard owners in Kulu Valley donated for *jawans* a number of truckloads of fresh Kulu apples, each truckload being worth about Rs. 10,000. On the Dusahra day sweets and fruits worth Rs. 3,000 were distributed among the troops by Home Minister Darbara Singh. On the occasion of Diwali every *Jawan* received a packet containing 400 grams of dry sweets and a small personal present such as a notebook and pencil, a ballpoint pen,

or a handkerchief. There was a card bearing name and address of the sender with a message as "well done", "keep it up" and so on. One old woman sent this message, "My sons, we are living for you." Quite a number of people sent little packets of kumkum to be included among the gift articles. School children sent over 10,000 Diwali greeting cards. Many girls sent bottles of jam, apparently home-made. Over one lakh packets of sweets worth Rs. 5 lakhs were distributed among the *jawans* in the forward areas of Khem Karan, Burki and Dograi on 23 October 1965. The Jan Sangh alone sent 50,000 such packets from Amritsar. Five truckloads of sweets were contributed by the people of Jammu for distribution among Patton destroyers on the Sialkot front.³⁰

The Citizens Central Council in three weeks received : new garments 10,231, old garments 17,646, night-suits 1,155, cloth pieces 9,500 metres, toilet soap 6,316 cakes as well as 1,068 cases, tooth brushes 1,157, blades 1,830, mirrors 132, combs 1,889, sweets 6,921 kilogram, biscuits 2,655 kilogram, tea 569 kilogram, milk (condensed or powdered) 990 tins, dry fruits 5,516 packets, books 3,164, magazines 7,968, cigarettes 137,844 and *biris* 2,723,000. Besides Prime Minister's office, the Defence Minister, Red Cross and Annapurna also received such gifts. The 140-item list included refrigerators, radio sets, thermometers, gloves, torches, mugs, table lamps, transistor radios, 20 TV sets and a car too. Besides there were *atta*, oils, ghee, toys, blankets, quilts, woollen garments, medicines, projectors, pressure cookers, stoves, electric water-coolers, kettles, liquidizers, trays, tumblers, thermos flasks, buckets, invalid chairs, hot food trolleys, stretcher trolleys, glass syringes, carpets, durries, etc.

APPRECIATION BY GOVERNMENT

Prime Minister Shastri in a broadcast to the nation after the ceasefire on September 23 expressed deep appreciation by the Government of India for the people and Government of Jammu and Kashmir. He said : "When Pakistan launched an attack on August 5, she had done so on the basis of certain assumptions. The first apparently was that there should be some sort of an uprising or revolt in Kashmir. The second seems to have been the hope that there might be communal disturbances in India. The biggest blow to Pakistan ambitions was dealt by the brave people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. They bore the brunt of the first wave of aggression with remarkable unity and fortitude. They gave full co-operation to the State Government

so ably led by Sadiq Saheb, the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, and to the security forces of the country. The second expectation of Pakistan proved to be even more illusory. The Pakistani aggression brought to surface the latent strong internal unity of the country. Our people came forward, all of them, as Indian patriots to fight a foreign challenger." He paid a great tribute to the people of Panjab in these words: "Panjab has been in the forefront. The citizens of the Panjab have shown a remarkable courage, sense of discipline and organisation. Their morale has always been very high."

On September 24, 1965, the Chief of the Army Staff, General J.N. Chaudhuri, praised the people of the Panjab in these words: "Never, never, have I seen such tremendous morale as I have seen among the civilians in the border areas. I will like to pay a tribute to the people on the way they kept their good, sound, basic, commonsense." "It gives the soldier a great feeling that people are behind him", he concluded.

Y.B. Chavan, Defence Minister, paid a tribute to the people at Jullundur on 22 November 1965. He said it was with the united efforts of the country in general and Panjabis in particular that India succeeded in defeating the evil designs of Pakistanis. All countrymen, he said, should learn a lesson from the path of valour and sacrifice shown by the brave Panjabis who rose above sectional wranglings and political factions for the defence of the mother country.⁸¹

While paying glowing tribute to the people of Rajasthan and Gujarat, the Prime Minister said: "The people of the border areas, particularly those of Rajasthan and Gujarat have shown great courage and fortitude. I know that among the civilian population, the casualties have been substantial. The sacrifices of our people in these areas will not go in vain. They have stood up for the whole country and all the people feel beholden to them. To the kith and kin of those who have martyred for freedom I send our respectful sympathies and condolences. As a Government we will do everything possible to lighten the sorrow of those whom these brave soldiers of freedom have left behind."

CONFRONTATION OF PAKISTAN'S ATROCITIES

(1)

Air Raids

For months before the outbreak of the actual hostilities, the Pakistanis made an elaborate survey of India's airfields and the nature of the land around them. Their Air Force made practice runs with cannons, bombs and rockets over several of India's air bases in the north and west. They started violating Indian air space perhaps even earlier than April 1965. This is proved from the diary of a senior Pakistani Air Force pilot which was recovered from his person after his B-57 bomber was shot down by the Indian Air Force near Jamnagar on September 7, 1965. One of the pages of the diary is dated Tuesday, April 20, 1965 and the entries mean :

Part I. Four day sorties of 2 hours and 30 minutes' duration at low level (L.L.), each carrying four 100-lb bombs, two 2.75" Folding Fin air rockets and two 20 mm guns carrying 75 rounds each.

Part II. His programme for the day was to fly two aircraft by day and three aircraft by night with the following armament : External stores—Four 750-lb. bombs, four pods of seven 2.75" Folding Fin air rockets (each) Internal stores . Four 750-lb. bombs and seven flares. The mission was also to carry 20 mm rounds in guns.



No. 10 : East & West Punjab

The abbreviations at the bottom of the page showed that the pilot had planned attacks on Adampur (Ad), Halwara (Hal), Ambala (Amb), Palam (Pal), Agra (Ag), Bhuj and Jamnagar. The ticking off of Adampur, Halwara, Ambala, Palam and Jamnagar meant that the programme had been carried out and practice runs made over these places¹.

In accordance with such plans Pakistan started dropping bombs on numerous towns and cities in Kashmir, Jammu, Panjab, Rajasthan, Gujarat and in the eastern sector, as soon as the actual hostilities broke out. Their pilots failed to do much damage to military installations. Ground fire from anti-aircraft guns and the Indian fighters frustrated their military objective. For instance during the period of hostilities the Pakistani Air Force dropped 16 bombs over Ambala, only three of which fell within the perimeter of the airfield, and two of them did not explode. In frustration the enemy behaved against all decencies of behaviour and conventions of warfare. He indulged in wanton attacks on civilian population and made no distinction between combatant and non-combatant. Their violence was let loose even on hospitals and places of worship². He committed the heinous war atrocity by using the napalm bombs totally banned by the Geneva Convention. Besides, the code of conduct universally observed by nations at war all over the world was torn to pieces by Pakistan. It put IAF markings on its F-86 Sabre jets to deceive Indian pilots³. The deception was shown to foreign correspondents and UN observers.

PLACES OF WORSHIP

Although Pakistan had claimed a holy war against non-Muslims only, yet, sacred places of all faiths were indiscriminately destroyed by her pilots. Their first non-military objective was a 400 year old mosque at Jaurian in Jammu area. It was attacked on September 3, 1965. The Pakistani jets swooped down upon the village very low, and hurled their rockets here and there. Fifty-one persons who were saying Friday prayers were instantly killed. Another holy place of the Muslims, the renowned mausoleum, of Sajjadahnashin Pir Barkatullah in the Dera Baba Nanak sector of Panjab, was reduced to ruins. Thousands of Muslim pilgrims both from India and Pakistan gathered there every year⁴. Among the holy places of the Sikhs, a *gurdwara* at Machhiwara, nine miles from Ludhiana, was attacked by rockets on the night of 6-7 September 1965. The building was damaged. One bullock standing nearby was killed. On

7 September another *gurdwara* at Borhe-ki-Kothi, a village near Ranbirsinghpura in Jammu, was badly damaged. Pakistani jet planes conducted air raids on the *gurdwara* Muskiana and *gurdwara* Sudhar. On the night of September 10-11, the *gurdwara* Nanaksar, known as the Golden Temple of Ludhiana District, was raided. A large number of Sikhs from various parts of Panjab had assembled there to celebrate the Purnima fair. The shells fell in *gurdwara* premises, but did not explode. All the four *gurdwaras* including that of Machhiwara are in Ludhiana district. In Chima Bidhichand, a village in Amritsar district, a *gurdwara* building was heavily damaged on the night of 19-20 September.

The St. Paul's Cathedral at Ambala⁵ was the target of Pakistani attacks twice. The first attack on the morning of September 18 damaged the Church, while the second on the night of 19-20 September destroyed it completely. Only the steeple of the Cathedral stood undamaged amidst the ruins. The enemy planes made over half a dozen attempts to raid the area from 7.30 p.m. to 4.30 a.m. The Church was hit by two 1,000 lb. bombs dropped at 3.35 a.m. Shortly after the raid, Rev. W.C. Anand, the Bishop of Amritsar, went round the ruins of the Church and later told newsmen: "I am completely heart-broken at this wanton destruction of the house of God. The loss is irreparable." Soon after this another bomb hit the Cantonment Anglican Church. Some falling portions of the main hall caught fire. Units of fire-brigade reached the place immediately and localized the fire.

HOSPITALS AND RED CROSS

Simultaneously with the destruction of the mosques, churches, temples and *gurdwaras*, inhuman attacks were led against hospitals and Red Cross centres too. On August 19, 1965, a hospital in Poonch (Kashmir) was shelled. Four ambulance vehicles of the Red Cross were attacked at Ferozepur on September 8, 1965. On the morning of 18 September from 2.30 to 2.50 in twenty minutes, Pakistani planes threw napalm bombs on a military hospital, a church, a school, a club, a cafeteria and the civilians of the suburban Model Town at Ambala. In the hospital two general wards and one officers' ward, the operation theatre and the X-ray department were smashed. Several persons, including two nursing lady officers on duty were injured. The number of casualties would have been much higher but for the fact that an hour before the air raid, 200 patients had been evacuated from the hospital to another town in normal routine.

In the early hours of September 22, 1965, the day originally fixed for ceasefire, Pakistan raided Jodhpur and dropped 30 bombs on the Jail hospital killing 32 persons, including a compounder and a warder. The rest were inmates of the jail undergoing treatment at the hospital. The hospital building was badly damaged. A barrack and other buildings of the jail were also impaired.⁷

PASSENGER TRAINS AND CIVILIAN VEHICLES

Even passenger trains and civilian vehicles were strafed. On September 9, 1965, a stationary passenger train at Gadra Road railway station in Rajasthan was bombed in which ten persons were killed. On the evening of 12 September an unsuccessful attempt was made by a Pakistani jet to bomb a passenger train between Ludhiana and Ferozepur. Again on September 13 a train was bombarded at Gurdaspur railway station. On September 22, 1965, a passenger train going from Ludhiana to Ferozepur was bombed. The same day civilian vehicles plying on the Jammu-Pathankot road were attacked by Pakistani jets, resulting in many casualties. The villages and cities of India were bombed by Pakistani Air Force. Some account of their misdeeds and of the heroic way in which the people faced them is furnished below :

SRINAGAR

On September 7, 1965 eight Pakistani Sabre jets raided Srinagar airport in the afternoon. Before the anti-aircraft guns came into action, the raiders damaged an Indian Dakota on the ground, and left a United Nations Caribou burning. One of the raiding aircraft was hit by anti-aircraft guns and it crashed. There was no damage to the airfield. Enemy jets appeared on Srinagar on the morning of 9 September, but were driven away by the anti-aircraft guns. Air raids on this airfield continued off and on without causing any damage.

JAMMU

The Jammu area was frequently attacked by Pakistani jets. On September 4, 1965, *Bisnah* and *Saror* villages east of *Ranbirthingpura* were attacked by Pakistani fighter bombers with rockets. On 6, 7, 8 September in strikes on Jammu city 5 civilians were killed and 6 injured. Pakistani jets made two successful raids on Jammu city on the night of 8-9 September. One enemy plane was hit by anti-aircraft guns. On 15 September several napalm bombs were dropped by Pakistan on villages in the *Samba* area.⁸ The markings on the shells showed that the weight of one bomb was 754 lb, and the capacity of

110 gallons of incendiary material. Sunjwan, a tiny village, 18 miles south of Jammu, was heavily bombarded on the nights of 16 and 17 September by Pakistani Sabre jets. In all 14 bombs were dropped, including eight napalm bombs. Some of them were 1,000 pounders. Twenty-five persons, mostly women and children, were killed. Forty-four others were injured, some of them seriously. Two women of the village said: "We have lost all our relations." About 60 houses including a *gurdwara* and a school building were damaged. Besides, 35 head of cattle were killed and 50 injured. Pakistani planes dropped six bombs in Mendhar sector on 17 September. Five Pakistani jets raided Jammu city on the evening of September 19, and fired rockets on a crowded locality killing 5 civilians and seriously injuring 17. Two houses were destroyed.

PATHANKOT

Pathankot railway station was crowded with soldiers and their equipment. On the platforms one had to be careful not to stumble over a rifle or a stengun. There were also innumerable refugees from villages in Chhamb, Jaurian and Akhour sectors that had been bombed indiscriminately by Pakistani jets. Pakistani airborne raiders frequently tried to bomb certain defence installations in and around Pathankot by day and at night. When the Pakistani raiders appeared in the night, the tracer shells streamed up into the sky and the ack-ack explosions rocked the area. At this the Pakistani jets would disappear out of range. No buses moved out of Pathankot for Jammu after dusk. The Pakistani aircraft raided Pathankot on the night of 8-9 September. On September 12 Pakistani bombers dropped 500 to 1,000 lb bombs. A Pakistani plane dropped eight bombs on the night of 16-17 September on an empty goods train in the railway yard. Four bombs did not explode.

GURDASPUR

Pakistani planes attempted on September 9, 10, 11 to bomb Gurdaspur and Dhariwal. The bombs dropped at Dhariwal did not explode. Two bombs dropped in the Mandi area of Gurdaspur on 11 September did some damage. Shortly before noon on 13 September four Pakistani planes attacked a train at Gurdaspur railway station. Three wagons were burnt. The remaining wagons were detached. The town was rocked by the explosion. A fireman was killed and ten persons were injured. Some damage was caused to the railway track. One Pakistani plane was shot down by ground fire. The wreckage of the plane was located near Vorvala Vadala village. The pilot of the

aircraft was killed. Two other planes emitted fire as they fled away. The planes dropped two bombs at Dhariwal and two in Kalanaur area. The enemy dropped bombs on Dinanagar railway station on 14 September. Two Pakistani planes dropped bombs and strafed the area near Fatehgarh Churian on the night of 16-17 September. A goods train was shelled between Dhariwal and Chhina stations in the early hours of 17 September. Five bombs were dropped, three of which exploded. On 19 September two bombs were dropped, one at Chhina and the other on Thehtika village near Dhariwal.

BATALA

Bombs were dropped on Batala, an industrial town of Gurdaspur district, on 8 September. Four bombs were dropped on the night of 14-15 September. Two bombs were dropped on the night of 15-16 September. The same plane also dropped bombs in villages Bedipura and Pravanpur near Gurdaspur. Another enemy plane coming from Dera Baba Nanak side dropped bombs on four goods trains in the early hours of 16 September, and fired a burst from machineguns. It also bombed some places between Batala and Pathankot. It dropped a bomb on goods office near Batala railway station.

AMRITSAR

Pakistani aircraft attacked Amritsar, the Mecca of Sikhs, from 5 to 22 September 4 to 10 times daily except on September 17. On September 5, 1965 Pakistan opened a new war front by launching an air attack on an Indian Air Force base near Amritsar. This was the first time that Pakistani armed forces carried out an overt aggressive action against Indian positions outside Jammu and Kashmir. A Pakistani Air Force F-86 Sabre jet fighter-bomber came low over the Indian Air Force unit in the afternoon and attacked it with rockets. Indian anti-aircraft guns immediately went into action and fired several salvos. The Pakistani fighter-bomber escaped the ground fire and flew away. Four attacks were mounted on 6 September, but the enemy paid a heavy price. Two F-86 and a B-57 planes were shot down, and at least two other F-86 planes damaged. This was the best haul for our anti-aircraft gunners on any single day. Thereafter, Pakistani planes kept at a respectful distance from these guns. They dropped their bombs in the villages and scurried back home.

On 8 September Pakistani Sabre jets dropped napalm bombs over Amritsar. Two Pakistani bombers were shot down by Indian ground fire on the evening of 9 September. On 10 September heavy

anti-aircraft fire brought down three of the enemy planes which fell in the vicinity of the city. The fourth badly damaged headed towards Pakistan. On the morning of 11 September Indian anti-aircraft fire shot down three Pakistani bombers. The body of one of the Pakistani pilots was found near Dhapai village on the outskirts of the city. A partially burnt identity card found on him bore the name Squadron Leader Ahmed. On September 13 a Sabre jet and one B-57 bomber were shot down. Pakistani planes made several sorties to hit at the vital Beas bridge, but anti-aircraft guns foiled their attempts on 14 September. A 500 pound bomb fell into the river. One bomb of 1,000 pounds fell close to a gun position.

On September 15 ten unsuccessful raids were made by Sabre jets. These planes dropped some bombs in the rural areas around Bhikhiwind. An Indian Army officer shot down an enemy plane by light machinegun fire in Amritsar sector on 15 September. A veteran army observer described the feat as "marvellous." He said such shooting down of planes was very rare in the last World War.⁹ Havildar Jesudass showed exemplary courage at Amritsar. In the midst of strafing by the enemy he aimed his gun skilfully at the enemy plane. In a moment he was able to shoot down a real prize—F-104 Star-fighter, the pride of the Pakistan Air Force. He was awarded Vir Chakra. In another case a havildar engaged an enemy bomber so effectively that in sheer desperation the pilot dropped his load of bombs on the gun position from a height of only 100 feet. The gallant havildar was killed but not before he had shot down the Pakistani plane. On the afternoon of 16 September one Sabre jet was shot down in Sarhali area at village Naushahra Punnuan. The pilot, Shaukat Ali, baled out. He was shot at and overpowered. The police seized Rs. 500 worth of Indian currency, Rs. 204 in Pakistani currency, hand-grenades, two pistols, and a wireless set from him. Seven more air raids took place on 18 September. Splinters killed some cattle in Atari village on 19 September. One enemy plane which appeared over Amritsar was hit by anti aircraft guns. It caught fire and crashed in the vicinity of Manawan village near Jallo, then under Indian control. Two Sabre jets bombed Chima Bidhichand, a border village 7 miles inside Indian territory on the night of 19-20 September, and heavily damaged a gurdwara building.¹⁰

THE HERO OF AMRITSAR

The spirit of service and sturdiness of Sikh Gurus who were so closely associated with Amritsar worked in the mind and heart of Subedar

Raju, who rightly won the title of the hero of Amritsar during this war. He displayed a unique sense of duty and amazing competency in shooting down thirteen¹¹ Pakistani Sabre jets with his anti-aircraft guns. His presence struck terror into the hearts of Pakistani pilots similar to that of Hari Singh Nalwa on the north-west frontier. In sheer obedience to the orders of their war lords, the Pakistani pilots did invade Amritsar several times in the day. But no sooner did they hear the first volley of ack-ack guns then they hurriedly unloaded their cargo before reaching their destination and turned tail. Raju had inspired the people of Amritsar so much that when a siren sounded warning, they came out in thousands to see the enemy plane falling down like a bird of prey. A party of newsmen met Raju in Dograi on October 1, 1965. They found him all humility. The Subedar said that the success was due to the team work of his unit. He declined to have his photograph taken and biographical sketch published. He only said that he was 32, joined the army in 1947, was married and had two sons. He belonged to Mahadevpatnam in West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. Kanwar Mohinder Singh Bedi, Commissioner of Panchayats and Liaison Officer of the Panjab Government, announced at a citizens' meeting that the people of Amritsar had decided to present Rs 2 lakhs of rupees to Subedar Raju as a token of their appreciation for his work. The Subedar gratefully declined the gift, saying that he did not like to be a burden on the grief-stricken town.

CHHEHARTA

It was on September 22, 1965, before noon that Pakistan formally accepted the ceasefire proposal of the United Nations. At 4 p.m. President Ayub Khan in a broadcast gave his acceptance of the ceasefire resolution, and just at that very moment his pilots left for Chheharta. The ceasefire was going to be effective from 3.30 a.m. on September 23. Yet nobody in India expected that any fresh outburst of violence would be committed by the enemy. In accordance with an Indian proverb that a robber strikes either on arrival or at departure, for Ayub this was the only hour to strike in a sector where he had previously failed to do any damage. For the first time during the past 18 days Subedar Raju relaxed his mind, and this proved the ruin of Chheharta. The Government of India like that of Pakistan should have kept the news of the ceasefire secret from people and army till the actual hour to avoid slackness of effort.

Chheharta is an industrial suburb of Amritsar, six miles from the city on the way to Wagah border. It was bombarded by Pakistani

fighters at 4-15 p.m. on September 22, 1965. Three F-86 Sabre jets and two B-57s dropped eight 1,000 pound bombs on this town. One bomb fell in the main Pratap Bazar, one in the Bhallawalia lane, two in the labour colony, and the rest in a field. The police found two unexploded 1,000-pound bombs in the fields behind a mill. As the bombs fell, windows and doors rattled in the entire city of Amritsar. Houses in Chheharta were filled with smoke and dust. Even a day later they gave out smell of gunpowder and burnt human flesh. Pieces of human bodies lay scattered all over. Severed heads were lying in courtyards and streets, while an arm or a leg could be seen dangling on electric wires. Long hair with bare skin were hanging on the walls and trees. Mothers hugged their wounded children and sobbed. Some were crying in agony. Others were rummaging the debris to trace their dear ones. Cows and buffalos with their bodies ripped open lay dead in the fields. Standing crops were burnt to ashes. A whole row of houses stood roofless. Seventy-seven houses and shops were razed to the ground, and 150 more were heavily damaged. Fifty-five persons were killed. The whole area presented a ghastly scene.

A special correspondent of *The Tribune*, Ambala, visited the town on September 23 and interviewed among others a 10-year-old girl, Janak. Amidst sobs she told him that on hearing the loud thunder she and her mother ran into the house. When they came out after a while, her father and two elder brothers, the only male members of the family, lay dead. At this she burst out into tears. Then she composed herself and said: "I do not feel alone. The whole of India is behind me. My hatred will burn Pakistan." The correspondent added: "The people's courage and fortitude is shown by the fact that within 20 minutes of the raid relief operations were begun. Removal of debris was taken in hand and the injured were sent to hospital and dead recovered from the rubble. With tears in eyes the people unflinchingly observed civil defence measures."²¹

A bomb was dropped on the Khalsa College nursery. It did not cause damage as a huge pipal tree bore the brunt of its fire. The college tube-well was damaged. A woman and a child were seriously injured.

DALAI LAMA

Pakistanis wanted to kill Dalai Lama at the instance of the Chinese and thus finish the Tibetan freedom movement. On September 12,

1965, a Pakistani bomber attacked Dharamsala where Dalai Lama's headquarters were situated. The plane missed the target and dropped bombs on Yole Camp. Besides the Dalai Lama was not in station at the time and was on tour. Again a Pakistani plane dropped 11 bombs over two villages of Kangra district near Dharamsala. Some houses were damaged. The bombs fell over trees causing a fire, but there was no loss of human life.

ADAMPUR

The Adampur base was the target of Pakistani attacks every alternate night from September 7 to 12 and of daily raids thereafter till the ceasefire on September 23. Yet the damage inflicted on the base was incredibly small. Out of a total of sixty-five 1,000-pound bombs unloaded in and around the base only six hit some military targets. Part of a hangar was blasted. Four houses near the base and a children's school were damaged, and one end of the concrete runway was holed. About 50 bombs fell on fields and villages away from the base, and the rest eight to ten miles away from Adampur. All this enhanced the zeal of our pilots at Adampur. Here they fought wave after wave of hostile planes. At the same time it was the springboard of our air attacks on enemy territory. As many as 67 sorties went out each day from here. The pilots of Adampur had as their beat an area stretching from Chhamb to Ferozepur. They took everything in their mighty stride, half a dozen enemy tanks at one place, two B-57s at another, and a few Sabres here and there. One B-57 bomber was shot down on the night of 14-15 September over Adampur airfield. It crashed down a few miles away at Alawalpur. The pilot and navigator who baled out were captured near Madhar village on 15 September. In an air-battle over Adampur on 17 September one Pakistani Sabre jet F-86 was brought down. The pilot baled out.

Group Captain W. V. A. Lloyd, Commanding Officer of Adampur station, said that before the recent combat Indian pilots believed that Pakistan's association through military alliances with more modern air forces might give Pakistanis an edge over their training. The combat experience removed the misgiving and gave them renewed confidence in their training system.

HOSHIAURPUR

Being in the vicinity of Adampur, the district of Hoshiarpur was frequently pounded by fleeing Pakistani bombers. On 11 September

a girls school in a village near Hoshiarpur was shelled. On September 13 there were air raids on some villages along the Jullundur road. Bombs and rockets were fired. The raid was made again on the morning of 14 September. Four bombs including two 1,000 pounders were dropped at Khanpur, 10 miles from Hoshiarpur on the morning of 17 September. One woman was killed, and seven were injured. Fifteen head of cattle were destroyed. On the night of 20-21 September four bombs were dropped on Husainpur, a village 7 miles from Hoshiarpur. Some houses and a well were damaged. Sahri village about a mile beyond Hoshiarpur was also strafed. On the morning of 21 September Deodor village was bombed killing four persons.

JULLUNDUR

On account of its close proximity to Adampur, Jullundur sector was pounded almost daily. On the night of 16-17 September, Pakistanis dropped bombs on five villages—Jallowal, Sudana, Choe Kangri, Lamba Pind and Lekhpur. Two bombs fell in the fields of village Rampur Sincha near Phagwara. Two bombs were dropped in Langri village on the night of 17-18 September. One Pakistani plane was shot down on 19 September over Kapurthala, 15 miles from Jullundur. Pakistani planes bombed the industrial town of Goraya. On the night of 20-21 September seven bombs were dropped in Gudiapur village. A 1,000 pound bomb made a large crater in the courtyard of a Harijan colony. The rest fell in nearby fields. Half a dozen houses were reduced to ruins, while eight were damaged. A child was killed and 34 persons were injured. Some cattle were torn to shreds. People sleeping in the fields were covered with burning sand.

LUDHIANA

On 11 September a Pakistani Sabre jet attempted to blow up Sutlej bridge near Ludhiana. It dropped five bombs, but they all fell in a nearby village. Bombs were dropped in Jagraon area on the night of 13-14 September. One F-86 jet was shot down over Ludhiana on the afternoon of 16 September. Standing sugarcane crop was damaged by a bomb dropped by Pakistani aircraft in a field in Laddon village in Payal sector on the night of 16-17 September. In the Payal area seven bombs were dropped on the night of 19-20 September.

AIR BATTLE OVER HALWARA

Four Pakistani Sabres attacked the airfield of Halwara on 6 September. The air battle continued intermittently for 12 hours.

Pakistanis tried to attack the runway and the airport. Flying officer A.R. Gandhi with another fighter pilot was ordered to intercept the Sabres. The two Hunters attacked the Sabres, which gave up the attempt of attacking the airfield. They flung their ammunition haphazardly. No bomb hit the target, but a nearby *gurdwara* was destroyed. The Sabres were outmanoeuvred, and Gandhi stuck fast to the rear of one Sabre in a dog-fight. When Gandhi got into appropriate range, he scored a direct hit. The enemy aircraft went to the ground and burst into flames. The second Sabre hit Gandhi's Hunter in the wing. He lost control of the aircraft and ejected. But the Sabre was immediately brought down by our anti-aircraft guns.

Flight Lieutenant D.N. Rathore, with Flying Officer V. K. Neb as his number two, was ordered to deal with the other two Sabres. It was 6.40 in the evening. The sun had gone down, and the horizon was lit only with the twilight. The remaining two Sabres were strafing the airfield and bombing it from a very low level. Jockeying for position, Rathore got behind the Sabre which was on his right. He closed in to 1,000 yards. At the same time he asked Neb to take on the other Sabre on the left. Rathore closed in to 650 yards. He then opened fire and hit the Sabre which abandoned its ground attack. Still closing in further, Rathore again fired from 500 yards. This time the Sabre was mortally hit. It started banking to the left and exploded in a huge sheet of flame some five or six miles away from the airfield. Meanwhile Neb had closed in behind the second Pakistani Sabre which was pouring front gunfire into the airfield. Neb had not done any air-to-air firing before, and was under operational training. Still closing in on the Sabre to 400 yards, he fired a burst. The Pakistani pilot at once abandoned his attack and pulled up sharply. Neb closed in to 100 yards and fired again. He saw pieces fly off the Sabre. There was first a puff of smoke which rapidly turned into a sheet of flames. The Sabre disintegrated in mid-air and fell to the ground. The whole matter was over in less than ten minutes.¹³ Thereafter Pakistanis never attacked this airfield in the day.

On the night of 7-8 September Pakistani jets again attacked the airport twice, but they were driven off without causing any damage. There were eight raids on the night of 10-11 September. The damage was slight. Only a few hangars were hit by the blast. The raids were fewer after 14 September. In the early hours of 21 September Halwara was again attacked. Five bombs were dropped. Two fell in the fields near Kanganwal village, one on Alamgarh village and two at

15-foot wide and 8-foot deep crater. The explosion was heard within a radius of 12 miles.

SANGRUR

On 14 September, bombs were dropped on Mahal Kalan village of Sangrur district. Pakistani planes appeared over Sangrur three times on the night of 16-17 September, and once early next morning. They appeared twice on the morning of 19 September.

AMBALA

Pakistani bombers visited Ambala only twice on 17 and 19 September in brilliant moonlit nights. They were eager to drop their load as quickly as possible regardless of targets. The result was that an old terminal building at the base suffered partial damage. The attacks were directed against civilian areas, 108-year-old church and the military hospital. The Pakistanis fared worst at Ambala. Of the total 16 bombs, all a thousand pounders, dropped, three fell in the vicinity of the airfield, and two did not explode. Only one hit the air traffic control building, which was due for demolition.

HISSAR

On the night of 15-16 September Pakistani planes dropped one bomb each on Arni, Kuttabadh and Haripur villages, but the bombs fell in the fields. On the night of 21-22 September the enemy dropped two bombs over Podiwali village in Fatehabad tahsil of Hissar district. They also fell in the fields.

FOREIGN AIR ATTACHES IN PANJAB AIRPORTS

The Air Attaches of 14 Embassies and High Commissions in New Delhi visited on October 8, 1965 four Air Force bases at Pathankot, Adampur, Halwara and Ambala in Panjab. The object was that they should check themselves the falsehood of the Pakistani claims of having inflicted great damage on these airfields and their installations. The Attaches belonged to Australia, Burma, Canada, France, Germany, Iraq, Italy, Japan, the Soviet Union, Thailand, the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Yugoslavia. They spent more than an hour at each of the air bases. They were taken along the runways and shown the damage caused. They admitted that Pakistani inspired foreign press reports of the loss of 25 aircrafts and some pilots at Ambala were false. The Station Commander Group Captain D. E. Bouche

emphatically declared that he had not lost even a single aircraft or a single pilot. He explained how well the Indian Air Force had worked as a team. Even with their superior radar coverage, the Pakistani pilots failed to give an account of having trained themselves to make full use of their equipment. They used sidewinder missiles practically to no effect. Bouche was actually puzzled by the scant attention paid to him by Pakistanis. It seemed that Pakistani pilots were scared of the base, "the Mecca of India's fighter pilots," which they knew was well-defended. The Air Attaches were visibly moved to see the terrible destruction caused by Pakistani bombs to vast portions of the military hospital at Ambala. One of the visitors condemned the Pakistani action as "barbaric." They were deeply affected at the sight of St. Paul's Cathedral in Ambala. They contributed to the fund being collected for the reconstruction of the church. In one station they saw that the bomb blasts had knocked down the side wall of two hangars and destroyed one of the family quarters of officers. At another place they found that a small part of a building had been destroyed.

At the air base at Halwara, the party saw a specimen collection of captured parachutes, anti-tank rockets, automatic weapons and ammunition, transmission sets and other equipment carried by Pakistani paratroopers. The display included part of a B-57 Pakistani bomber shot down over the area. A part of the Pakistani aircraft bore the deceptive IAF Saffron-White-Green markings resorted to by Pakistanis. "Disregarding the ethics of international airmanship, some Pakistani aircraft were seen bearing US national markings as well." They asked the Station Commanders searching questions about the performance of the Bangalore-built Gnat used by the Indian Air Force with great success against the American-gifted Pakistani F-86 Sabre jets. The visitors were told that the Pakistanis had by and large missed practically all their military targets—the runways, the aircraft and the installations. The Attaches found that the air bases were pictures of orderliness. The officers and men displayed a sense of confidence without being boastful. They were convinced that the Indian Air Force gave a decisive account of its superiority in air-battles. That the Pakistani Air Force was convinced of its weakness could be seen from the glaring fact that it tried daylight attacks on Indian air bases only once.¹¹

GADRA ROAD

No other place in the country except Jodhpur was so heavily

bombarded by Pakistanis as Gadra Road. Everyday the enemy planes pounded this place several times. For example on 9 September at 7-30 a.m. Pakistani aeroplanes flew over the place. They attacked the rest house and the railway station. After a while the enemy retired, but appeared again in two hours. This time warning had been received in time from the railway terminus at Munabao. The Pakistani bombers missed their mark again, and bombs fell on the road nearby. At 12-30 p.m. the enemy planes again flew over the station. They broke some telegraphs lines and damaged the pumping station. At 2-30 p.m. the station was attacked again. A goods train was hit. Ten railway employees were killed, and 17 were seriously wounded. The Pakistani planes attacked the station for the fifth time at 5 p.m., and lastly at 7-30 p.m. In one day the station was attacked six times.

JODHPUR

Since 6 September, day after day, Pakistani planes hovered over Jodhpur and the surrounding areas in a bid to destroy the airfield. Their jets came singly, in twos, and in waves, swooping low over the city, and dropping bombs indiscriminately after missing the target. Half a dozen air raid warnings had become a daily feature. The enemy bombers dropped 189 bombs, each weighing from 250 pounds to 1,000, total weight being 1,80,000 lbs. On 14 September 50 bombs and on 15 September 40 bombs were dropped, always missing to hit military installations, and destroying huts, houses and crops. Urchins led a party of reporters to the huge craters made by 1,000 lb. bombs. Four such bombs fell 100 feet from one another in a cremation ground in Pabupura, and formed 30' x 24' craters in the earth.

The role of the brave people of Jodhpur was marvellous. They displayed indomitable courage in facing the enemy onslaughts. There was no panic. No one, except the very rich people, left the city. Though the bombs killed many people and destroyed their houses, yet the morale of the public remained as high as ever. For nearly three weeks the undaunted people and officials had sleepless nights. As soon as the sirens were sounded, men, women and children came out of their houses and quietly entered the trenches dug in all open places. They remained in trenches for hours, sometimes the whole night with handkerchiefs in their mouths and cotton in their ears. There was complete blackout. No one was allowed to light a match stick in the open. *In the beginning Jodhpur remained defenceless, and wave after wave of enemy planes visited the town almost every*

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night. With the installation of the anti-aircraft guns, their number began to decrease. Many a building, ancient and modern which added to the beauty of the famous stone city of Jodhpur now lay on the ground, a heap of rubble, with pieces of bomb shells, glass and stone strewn all around.

GUJARAT

Jamnagar was the main target of Pakistani air raids. Their main objective was the military quarters. The first attack on Jamnagar took place on the night of September 6-7. The second attack was made on the night of 12-13 September. In the course of four air raids the same night, 23 bombs were dropped. The Gujarat Chief Minister, Balvantray Mehta's plane was shot down by Pakistani jets operating from Badin in Sind on September 19, 1965. He was going from Ahmedabad to attend a function at Mithanpore. The plane crashed near Suthali village around Nalia in Kutch district, about 60 miles south-west of Bhuj. There were eight persons in the plane including the Chief Minister's wife, Sarojben, a local journalist, one security officer, Mehta's personal assistant, and three crew. All the eight were killed on the spot.¹⁵

BOMBAY

On the afternoon of 13 September one unidentified plane suspected to be of enemy, flew over Greater Bombay. Ack-ack guns for the first time went into action. They flew back without causing any damage.

ERNAKULAM

A Pakistani bomber attempted an air raid at Ernakulam, Cochin naval base, on the evening of September 15, 1965. Air raid sirens were sounded and the coastal guns went into action immediately. The plane flew away. An air raid alert was sounded on the morning of 17 September. The all-clear came 39 minutes later.

EASTERN SECTOR

Pakistan attacked our air bases in Bengal and Assam. Its intentions were to create panic and destroy the industrial base in Greater Calcutta by bombing. Dacca radio gave out a list of installations which were the targets of Pakistani bombers. Repeated attempts were made by Pakistani aircraft to bomb the IAF base at Kalaikunda near Kharagpur, 76 miles from Calcutta. On September 6, before

dawn, when Indian forces were marching into Lahore Sector, Pakistani F-86 Sabres launched a massive attack on the Kalaikunda air base. The personnel and their families had been evacuated previously. They caused minor damage to a few unserviceable planes standing there. They blew up a couple of empty unmanned hangars. They repeated their performance, at 6.15 a.m. This time they were received by Indian Hunters. One of our planes was shot at. It started trailing smoke, but landed safely. Two Sabres were shot by other Hunters. They went down vertically and hit the ground. The other two escaped to the sea. The third attack came at 10.40 a.m. The Hunters were waiting for them. One Sabre, trailing smoke, came down straight. It hit the ground and exploded. The second was hit by ground fire, and it disappeared behind a burst of orange flames. The third, badly damaged, headed for the sea. The pilots of the fourth and fifth planes parachuted to the earth. One of them was captured immediately. The sixth plane, also severely damaged, escaped to the sea. The severed head of one pilot was lying at a distance from the wreck of the plane. His name was Afzal, about 25 years old. The body of the other pilot had been cut to bits. The wreckage of his plane lay scattered over a wide area. The IAF personnel picked up arms and ammunition, log books, tail planes, bearing Pakistan Air Force marks, and the US stamped helmets, lifebelts, air-jackets, gloves and communication equipment from the five planes brought down.

On September 10 Pakistanis attacked the Bagdogra airport and destroyed one C-119 Packet Fairchild transport and a Vampire jet fighter. Pakistan lost one Sabre jet. Two Pakistani aircraft flew over Gauhati airport and the Brahmaputra rail-road bridge on the night of 10-11 September. Repeated attempts were made to bomb targets in and around that area. The planes were driven off without causing any damage. Later on several attempts were made to bomb the bridge and the airport, but the ground fire chased them away.

Pakistanis resorted to indiscriminate bombing of civilian and military targets alike from Barrakpore to Agartala which is a civil airport. Pakistani bombers, escorted by Sabre jets, on the morning of 14 September 1965, raided the IAF base at Barrackpore, 14 miles from Calcutta. They came in two sorties, one at 8-15 and another at 8-40. The first sortie came over the air base and dropped a few bombs. The second was intercepted before it could reach its destination and was chased away. One Pakistani bomber was shot

down. At 10 a.m. the same day four Pakistani jets attacked Agartala. Four Pakistani planes appeared at noon on September 14 over the Hashimara air base near Alipurduar in West Bengal. They were driven away by anti-aircraft fire. Seven Pakistani planes unsuccessfully attempted to attack Gauhati airport and the Brahmaputra bridge at Pandu at 6-30 the same evening. This was the third Pakistani attempt to attack the bridge in the last few days. On the evening of September 15, two unidentified planes were sighted at a very high altitude over Imphal.

LOSS IN AIR RAIDS

In Jammu, 193 civilians were killed and 140 injured." About 60,000 people were rendered homeless. In panjab, the civilian casualties were 157 killed and 278 injured. The highest number of casualties—81 killed and 70 injured—was in Amritsar. About 20,000 people became homeless. Total number of civilian casualties in Pakistani air raids and shelling was more than 900, including about 400 killed. There was extensive damage to property and crops.

(2)

Paratroopers

After the failure of its plans to seize Kashmir by force and to carry the war to other parts of Indian territory, Pakistan resorted to desperate measures to dislocate the country's war effort. Paratroopers trained in sabotage were dropped in large numbers in different parts of the country. They were charged with the task of destroying or damaging key military and civilian installations like airfields, transmitters and aircraft, ammunition depots, ordnance factories, bulk petroleum installations, power houses, bridges, communication centres and even industrial units. The captured officers of the paratroopers possessed accurate information, regarding the location of various targets at the air bases. They knew the names of neighbouring villages as well as of the sarpanches and other prominent persons. The enemy could have gathered this information partly through aerial photography, there is evidence he did so, and through spies from contractors who supplied the Pakistan embassy's sub-office at Jullundur with various articles. India did not drop even a single paratrooper in Pakistan.

The paratroopers came well-equipped with automatic rifles, machineguns, carbines, grenades, mortars, slabs of explosive material,

wireless sets, battery chargers, anti-tank cobra missiles, pistols, rifles, knives, parachutes, etc. They resorted to several tricks to deceive and demoralise Indians. Some Pakistani paratroopers were clothed in Indian Air Force uniforms. In certain cases they wore hair and clothes like Sikhs to mislead the Indian security forces and the public.¹⁸ Some saboteurs appeared at Simla in the dress of hullmen. On inquiry they said they belonged to Rampur. When questioned in Rampur dialect, they did not understand it. The paratroopers dropped in Panjab included three young pretty girls. They were arrested. They confessed that they had been assigned the task of destroying the air fields at Adampur and Halwara. The ammunition recovered from them could easily destroy both the aerodromes.

During the Indo-Pakistani fighting, it was noticed that the number of snake charmers had suddenly increased in Ludhiana, a city situated near Halwara airfield. Even the local charmers became perturbed at the competition they stood to face. The people suspected the new entrants. The railway authorities were requested to examine a snake charmer moving at the railway station. On checking his basket it was found that there were no snakes but hand-grenades in it. The charmer was a Pakistani paratrooper. He was on the lookout for an opportunity to blow up trains and stores. The police rushed into the town. Some singers on the roadside, and others giving a demonstration of quake medicines, in the garb of Sikhs, nomads and tradesmen, were all Pakistani paratroopers. The harmoniums of street singers contained no springs but high explosives. The scabbards of kirpans of the fake Sikhs had no swords but deadly ammunition with U.S. markings.

Although the enemy was armed with much superior automatic weapons, our police, home guards and local people dealt with them effectively, showing magnificent courage and utmost patriotic disregard of all personal losses. The tall, sturdy peasant who had re-established himself during the last 18 years after having been deprived of the lands which he had developed in West Pakistan, was not to be shaken this time. Wielding his long staff the peasant rushed through his tall sugarcane fields and hunted the Pakistanis like a beast of prey. He even destroyed his crops by setting them ablaze to smoke out the raiders. He said: "The crop can come up next year, but *azadi* would not, if it goes now." The people of the Panjab came forward voluntarily to patrol the entire railway and road network in the state.

They wanted to ensure that Pakistani paratroopers were not able to cut the rail or road link anywhere. They kept a 24-hour vigil to prevent sabotage. Not even a small culvert was left unguarded. People took turns to be on duty. A taxi-driver claimed that he had spotted out some paratroopers and informed the police or army authorities. Asked how he could make out that the man was a Pakistani, he said that there was always a strangely hostile gleam in the eyes of the enemy, and something peculiar in his deportment. The police and army had surer methods of detecting paratroopers.

PATHANKOT

Pakistan air dropped on September 6, small groups of paratroopers in the neighbourhood of Pathankot. Twenty-seven of them were captured in Pathankot area and nine at Sujampur, a few miles from Pathankot. The captured paratroopers included one major, two captains and a number of junior commissioned officers of the Pakistan army. The major supplied clues for the recovery of their hidden equipment including arms, maps, and action-instructions. Later on three paratroopers were caught while moving very well dressed in the Indian Air Force uniform of high officers. A villager who was wounded in an encounter with paratroopers on the night of September 13 near Gurdaspur railway station died of his injuries. Twenty-four members of this batch were rounded up after a hand-to-hand fight with civilians.²⁰

ADAMPUR

The Adampur air field situated midway between Hoshiarpur and Jullundur was the main target of Pakistani fury during the whole period of war. On the night of 6-7 September, a group of 50 paratroopers was dropped at Kalra village nearest to the runway of the Adampur aerodrome. The paratroopers belonged to 19th Baluch Regiment of Pakistan Army based near Abbottabad in Hazara district of North-West Frontier Province. After the drop, as already instructed, they collected near the village pond with a solitary tree standing on its bank. The group was led by Captains Ashraf and Saeed Afzal Durani. The group broke up into batches of two to five each and spread themselves all over the area. A peasant of Lattersa village saw them being dropped. He alerted the whole village and then informed the security authorities. About the same time another farmer in Kalra village saw a man moving suspiciously in civilian clothes in his field. The peasant asked him from where he came. The man pretended to be a security person who had spent the night

in Lattera village. Though he spoke Panjabi, his dialect was different from the one spoken in the area. The farmer slipped back to his village and informed Faqir Singh lambardar of Kalra. The villagers threw a cordon round the field, and the paratrooper was overpowered. A shot fired by another paratrooper hit the lambardar who died on the spot. Nine paratroopers entrenched themselves in sugarcane fields and thwarted police attempts to capture them for about 12 hours, before they were subdued. Some paratroopers were captured at Chiheru rail bridge between Phagwara and Jullundur Cantonment. Two paratroopers of this group—Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Hanif—exhausted their two days' ration given to each. They surrendered with two rifles.

The Panjab Government announced payment of full compensation to farmers whose standing crops would be destroyed in national interest. The Government brought 200 tractors to level the standing crops of hybrid maize, jowar, bajra, cotton and sugarcane in order not to give any facility to the saboteurs to hide themselves in the vicinity of the aerodrome. By September 12 the entire standing crops in an area of nine miles in radius around Adampur aerodrome were moved down. The Government further declared that those killed in mopping up of paratroopers would be treated as war casualties. A sum of twenty lakhs of rupees was placed at the disposal of deputy commissioners of Jullundur division for giving relief and compensation to victims of Pakistani raids.

Seventeen paratroopers were arrested as they alighted in Kalra village on the night of September 7-8. These men were from Peshawar area, and had been hired on a promise of Rs 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 in accordance with the extent of damage done to the Adampur aerodrome.²¹ The same plane dropped nine paratroopers near Moga. They were rounded up at Akhara bridge on Sirhind canal in the vicinity of Jagraon, 18 miles distant from Moga. Automatic guns and ammunition were seized from them. Farther on some paratroopers were dropped in Sangrur area about 30 miles from Patiala. A batch of 25 paratroopers was dropped on September 13 in groups of five. Two of them including a Colonel of the Pakistan Army were killed near Adampur. The same evening five paratroopers were rounded up in Bhamina village in the Nakodar area of Jullundur district. They were hiding in the

thick reeds growing in a marsh. Three of them were captains, one lance naik and one sepoy.²²

As the villagers were combing the fields for arms and ammunition left by Pakistani paratroopers, Mansa Singh sarpanch of village Kalra on September 13 secured a machinegun, two hand-grenades and a large quantity of ammunition hidden in a field. Two bombs and a transmitter were found in another. Zulfiqar Ali paratrooper was taken into custody near Jalkota village in the jurisdiction of Adampur police station on September 14. Paratroopers were dropped in the Adampur-Bhogpur sector between 3 and 4 a.m. on September 16. Three paratroopers were killed on the evening of September 13 in an encounter with Jullundur police in Kartarpur area. One sub-machinegun, one rifle, and a large quantity of ammunition fell into our hands. Two teachers, Bakhshish Singh and Sundar Singh, were killed by the infiltrators, while on their post of duty, and another Tirathram was kidnapped.²³

KAPURTHALA

On September 13, 1965, at village Talawind Mann two paratroopers who were about to fire at some villagers, were struck on the head from behind by other villagers and killed. Two rifles, four bombs, 62 rounds of cartridges and Rs. 172 in Pakistani currency were recovered from them. The same day 17 paratroopers were captured, seven killed and one injured. Three of them surrendered themselves to an Indian police picket guarding a road bridge. They handed over their arms including a pistol, carbines, a stengun and three magnetic compasses. Hand-grenades and two unexploded bombs were recovered from a field near a village on September 15, 1965.

AMRITSAR

On September 15 one Pakistani spy woman was arrested at Amritsar, while another spy was found sending wireless signals from the top of a tree in Mari Samra village in the Bhukhwind police station. He was killed by the villagers.

FEROZEPUR DISTRICT

On September 14, a number of paratroopers were captured in Ferozepur district. Five light machineguns, a large number of other weapons, binoculars, compasses and a huge quantity of ammunition

were recovered from them. Two paratroopers were shot dead on the evening of September 14 by the Moga police in an encounter near Nathoke village, 12 miles from Moga. The police recovered from them one mauser, a number of cartridges and four bombs with U.S. markings. Two paratroopers were killed on September 14 at Ugoke village near Baghapurana. The same day four paratroopers were arrested at Muktsar, 14 at Kot Kapura, 2 at Moga and 34 at Jagraon.

PHAGWARA

Two hand-grenades and two bombs were recovered on September 15 from the field of Nirand Singh, sarpanch of Dhanda village in police station Phagwara. They were either dropped earlier unnoticed or left there by some fleeing paratroopers.

SHAHKOT

Five paratroopers were hiding in fields in the Shahkot area. They had been without food for four days. On the afternoon of September 13, one of them came out and asked a cultivator who was grazing his cattle nearby for some food. When told that he had no food, the paratrooper gave him a ten rupee note to bring food from some nearby village. The peasant grew suspicious. He went running to the village and informed the sarpanch. A police party, headed by a sub-inspector and the sub-divisional magistrate reached the spot and surrounded the field. The paratroopers surrendered without offering any resistance. They only pleaded to have food. They were a part of a batch of 50 dropped near Adampur on 6 September.

DORAHA

Between 50 and 60 paratroopers were airdropped in the Doraha area in Ludhiana district at about noon on September 9, 1965. They were spotted by our planes and mopping up operation began. Immediately after landing, these good-looking and carefully shaved paratroopers disguised themselves as women. They put on wigs, breast pads, clothes and sandals, before dispersing to seek cover. All village *panchayats* around the area where the paratroopers were spotted went into action along with the police and security forces in combing the area. In a few hours several of them were captured.

HALWARA

The other main target of Pakistani paratroopers was the Halwara

airfield, 22 miles south-west of Ludhiana. The first batch of 62 paratroopers landed from a Pakistani transport plane, C-130 American Hercules, near Halwara at 3 o' clock on the morning of September 7, 1965. Some of them landed in Rajaona village. They were armed with rocket launchers, light machineguns, stenguns, high explosives, grenades and large stocks of ammunition. According to their plan they had to intrude into the airfield in darkness immediately on landing. After destroying or damaging it, the paratroopers were to signal Pakistani aircraft to land at Halwara aerodrome to fly them back to Pakistan. In case of failure of the plan, with the help of a map, three captains were to lead them back to Pakistan via Abohar canal by covering 160 miles at night. Both these plans failed because of the vigilance of the people living in villages around Halwara. A villager saw them landing. He immediately rushed on a bicycle to the airport and informed the authorities. The military authorities informed the police. Three paratroopers landed on the roof of the house of an ex-serviceman. He showed rare gallantry in challenging them. They tried to shoot him but failed. The havildar seized an empty bucket lying nearby, and struck one of the raiders on the head. The victim fell from the roof and broke his ankle. As he could not run, his colleagues shot him dead.

It was dawn by this time. The whole village was up. The menfolk carried sticks, iron rods and *gandasas*. They started an intensive search of the paratroopers. A 50-year old peasant grappled with a raider and overpowered him. Nine paratroopers were chased by hundreds of villagers from Kaonke for three miles. The maize and sugarcane fields in which the raiders had hidden themselves were surrounded. On seeing the huge crowd, the raiders were completely nonplussed and they quietly surrendered themselves with their arms. One of the paratroopers was a sepoy from Gilgit. He had been assigned the task of destroying the air base installations. He stated that he was on leave to attend a marriage. He had just arrived at home from marriage with *panjiri*, a home-made sweetmeat, when he was summoned on duty within half an hour for flight to India. He carried photographs of his two children whom, he said, he did not want to leave so suddenly. Some other paratroopers were engaged in a pitched battle. They fired shots at the police. The police chased them for a couple of miles. After an exchange of fire for three hours, they surrendered. Their leader carried Rs. 500 in Indian currency. Every paratrooper carried the map of India and Indian currency

besides arms and explosives. The captured paratroopers included two captains and one subedar. The search for the rest continued. On September 9 one villager was injured when paratroopers fired three bursts from a brengun from a field near Chuhar Chak in the vicinity of Moga.

Two truck-loads of arms and ammunition, all brand new and bearing U. S. markings were recovered from 33 captured Pakistani paratroopers who had been rounded up in three days in Ludhiana district. The markings on parachutes showed that they were manufactured in 1963. A group of 11 paratroopers, a remnant of the party dropped near Halwara on September 7, tried to escape to Pakistan. They travelled along the Abohar canal for 40 miles. Among them was one major and two captains of the Pakistan Army. They were pursued by Indian police. Two encounters took place with them on September 13 near Kot Kapura. One Indian constable was shot dead while guarding a bridge. Eight members of the party surrendered. Three of them offered resistance for five hours. They ultimately surrendered. Five stenguns, two automatic rifles, three Thompson carbines, three hand-grenades, one binocular, three compasses, and 1,100 rounds of ammunition were recovered from them. On September 13, another batch of three paratroopers of the same party was engaged in an encounter in Sibian village in Bhatinda district. One paratrooper was killed, the other was injured, and the third quietly surrendered. They belonged to E Company of the Baluch Regiment of Pakistan Army. Arms and ammunition recovered from them included one automatic rifle, one Thompson carbine, one compass, and several rounds of cartridges. On September 13 fourteen paratroopers were captured and seven others killed in encounters with villagers and police in Patiala sector. The same day a light machinegun, a rifle and ammunition were recovered from some paratroopers. The superintendent of police, Ludhiana, stated on September 13 that 61 out of 62 Pakistan paratroopers dropped near Halwara in Ludhiana district on September 7 had either been arrested or killed.

BHATINDA

On the evening of September 14, three paratroopers surrendered to two guards posted on a road bridge in Bhatinda district. A-45 bore pistol, one stengun, one Thompson carbine, two hand-grenades, three magnetic compasses, three military knives each with 8-inch blade and 219 cartridges were recovered from them. Three men who posed

themselves dumb were rounded up in Bhatinda district, and were found to be Pakistani paratroopers.²¹ In an encounter one mile away from village Ramana Albel Singh in Bhatinda district, eleven fully armed paratroopers in uniforms were captured. They said four days back Pakistani aircraft had dropped 50 paratroopers near Moga to destroy military installations and bridges. Five of them dropped dead soon after landing. Their party was charged with the job of blowing up the Sirhind canal bridge near Jaitu Mandi.²²

TOTAL NUMBER OF PARATROOPERS IN PANJAB

According to an official spokesman as reported by PTI from Chandigarh on September 25, 1965, the number of paratroopers captured was 136 and of those killed 22. On February 14, 1966, the same number was again quoted with 14 who could not be accounted for. Thus the total number of paratroopers as admitted by Panjab Government was 172. The number of paratroopers dropped as gathered by the author from newspaper reports came to 273 plus many more whose number was not mentioned. In his calculation more than 300 paratroopers were dropped—captured 243, killed 26, and the rest untraceable. Whatever the actual number of paratroopers might be there is no doubt that Pakistan's "Operation Paratroops," involving about a thousand soldiers, in a battalion strength, was completely frustrated by the brave people of the Panjab supported by Panjab Armed Police and Indian security forces. The paratroopers absolutely failed to damage our aerodromes and other vital defence installations. Another reason of their failure was that the group leaders and the individual paratroopers failed to establish contacts. Besides, they had no food and lived mainly on sugarcane and to some extent on raw maize for week together. Furthermore, the mosquito-saturated marshy bed of the Sutlej and other places where they hid themselves gave them miserable time. Constant vigil of the people accompanied by dogs allowed them no rest and deprived them of sleep. They had to choose between starvation and surrender and naturally they preferred the latter.

OUTSIDE PANJAB

Some paratroopers were dropped at a few places outside Panjab. On the morning of September 8, 1965, an American C-130 four-engined, heavy transport aircraft of the Pakistani Air Force with an escort of two fighters appeared near Delhi. The Indian Air Force fighters immediately closed in upon them. The Pakistani bombers at once fled

away. The transport plane fell down like a ball of fire hurtling at great speed a few miles away from Delhi. Its pieces lay scattered over a large area covered by half a dozen villages-Bhundpur, Raghunathpur, Kuragarhi, Hasanpur, Palkhwa and Muradnagar, in tahsil Ghaziabad of Meerut district. One company of paratroopers between 90 and 120 landed about 20 miles from the capital. People immediately joined the police in hunting them.⁸⁶ A few paratroopers were dropped near Gwalior on the night of 8-9 September. Some were dropped in different parts of West Bengal. On the night of 6-7 September they were dropped in the areas of Panagarh (Burdwan) and near Berhampore (Murshidabad) on the night of September 7-8. On 10 September paratroopers were dropped in Bagdogra area near Siliguri in North Bengal. A large number of paratroopers landed on the night of 10-11 September at several places between Gauhati and Shillong. Around Gauhati and Nongpoh their number was estimated at about 300.

(3)

Devastation and Abduction

Arson, rape, rapine and vandalism is a creed of the invaders from the north-west. During this war the entire area occupied by Pakistanis was left a heap of ruins. Women who fell into their hands were treated with utmost cruelty and barbarity. Children of tender age were thrown like pieces of wood from the laps of their mothers and killed ruthlessly. No mercy was shown to the blind, crippled and the old. Property worth crores of rupees was looted and destroyed.

KASHMIR

G. M. Sadiq, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, told the State Assembly on October 12, 1966, that about 1,400 houses had been reduced to ashes as a result of the sabotage by Pakistani raiders. The loss to Government and private property was estimated at Rs. 22 lakhs.⁸⁷

JAMMU

In Chhamb-Jaurian sector of Jammu, an area of 190 square miles containing 174 villages had fallen into Pakistani occupation on September 1, 1965. About 60,000 people had to flee in the twinkling of an eye leaving all their belongings behind. All their property, food-

grains and cattle were carried away across the border as war booty. After the ceasefire came into effect on September 23, 1965, the Pakistani troops began to lay waste the Indian territory in anticipation of their withdrawal to their former positions under the terms of the Security Council's resolutions. The good timber and wood work was removed and all the villages were set on fire. Under the Tashkent agreement, this area was vacated by Pakistan on the night of February 25, 1966, and Indian troops occupied it on the morning of 26 February. The whole region wore a gloomy appearance. A correspondent of *The Tribune* visited many villages here and reported that "not a single house in the area had a roof on it and the mud walls were crumbling."²⁹ In Jammu and Kashmir the Pakistanis destroyed idols and the holy Granth Sahib from about one hundred places of worship.³⁰

Thirty-five year old Kapura, a Brahman of Mandiala village in Chhamb sector was taken prisoner along with many others. Most of them were forced to carry heavy loads of supplies for Pakistani soldiers. About his escape Kapura said : "There were two Pakistani guards escorting me while I was carrying their supplies to a hill top. I besought them in the way that I wanted to ease myself which they allowed. When I got somewhat outside their sight, I took a chance and succeeded in escaping. These harrowing days will haunt me for ever."³¹ He told newsmen in Jammu that all the Indian prisoners had been subjected to hard labour from dawn to dusk. "If ever we relaxed for a moment, we were belaboured mercilessly with shoes and abused filthily." The plight of the few women who were captured was beyond description, he said. He added that Pakistanis ransacked all villages under their occupation and set fire to many of them. There were still some Indian men and women left in the areas of Chhamb and Palanwala facing untold hardships.

PANJAB

Another area under Pakistani occupation was Khem Karan in Panjab. It had a population of about 7,000 and contained nearly 2,500 houses. About 20 square miles of area comprising Khem Karan town and 13 villages in the neighbourhood was seized by Pakistan on September 7, 1965. The people had to leave their hearths and homes so suddenly that property worth crores of rupees was left behind. Large quantities of foodgrains including 12,000 bags of Government-owned wheat were plundered. Thousands of cattle were dragged away across the border.³² Khem Karan was a flourishing town with the oldest municipality next

to Lahore in the United Panjab. There were big agriculturists, industrialists and businessmen. It had a thriving market, two schools for boys and girls, two historic *gurdwaras*, half-a-dozen Hindu temples and a church. There were about twenty gardens in the area. The old house of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's ancestors had been renovated to perpetuate Maulana's memory. The town had a number of gates on all sides. The Chutta Gate was renamed by the municipality as Azad Gate.

But Pakistan's troops reduced this flourishing town into ruins. When the Indian army re-entered the town on February 26, 1966, it was unrecognizable, badly mauled, and its pride humbled to dust. There were no bazars, no streets, and no houses. Even bulldozers had been used to demolish buildings. All the temples in the town were broken and defiled. Their domes were pulled down. Golden plated spires had been removed. Idols lay sliced. The spots underneath were dug for hidden treasures. Leaves of the sacred books were torn to bits and strewn amidst rubbish. The residents told pressmen that a woman priest of Hindu temple and her woman companion were thrown into the temp'e-well which was then filled with rubble. The historic *Gurdwara* of Thumm Sahib was virtually razed to ground. The sacred *thumm* - a huge wooden pillar of Guru Ram Das was no more. In the deep Baoli Sahib a decomposed dead body of a cow lay floating. The buildings of land customs station and the police station had disappeared. The Panjab Armed Police Lines, once an array of imposing barracks glistening in white and yellow, stood roofless without doors and windows. The railway station building was badly damaged. The 5-mile long rail track between Khem Karan and Valtaha was nowhere to be seen.²² There were no sleepers, not even the stony ballast, just a wind-eroded 'bund' to indicate where there was once a railway line. Railway signals, wires and installations including tube wells had gone out of existence. The roofs of all the houses had been destroyed, their wooden structures removed, and even the cement concrete roofs blistered. All the 25 wells in the town had been filled with dead bodies of dogs and other animals and with rubbish. The Pakistanis proved that they were the true followers of Mahmud of Ghazni and Timur Lane, human wolves and fiends.

Ram Chand, a 73-year old commission agent of Khem Karan, told pressmen that he and his wife had been arrested on September 12 along with 150 other residents including some women and a girl of 13 by Pakistani soldiers. They were taken to the police station

outside the town and lodged there blind-folded for some days. The Pakistan army men ordered them to surrender their gold, jewellery, and other valuables. His wife handed over family jewellery weighing about 70 tolas. After a few days they were removed to Lyallpur jail. They were supplied with scanty and poor meals. About 40 persons of Khem Karan died in jail. They were made to work on roads and were treated with contempt. Their young women were nowhere to be seen.

Outside the town standing crops and trees had disappeared. Orchards had ceased to exist. The canal was there but without water and full of sandy silt. Fields parched and dry, wells filled with rubbish, and electric poles reduced to iron stumps, was a shocking sight. *Kikar* trees were uprooted and burnt. Mango trees were dynamited out of roots, then cut and carted away. Those still standing bore deep round cuts at the bottom, left to wither and dry up. The whole countryside was ravished and ruined, a tragic scene. The same sight was apparent in the neighbourhood where population had been uprooted. The details of some villages are given below :—

<i>Name of Village</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Area in acres</i>	<i>Number of houses</i>
Rattoke	2895	4488	448
Kalla	698	977	108
Sankhatra	808	1528	146
Mastgarh	993	1725	166
Dhul Nati	62	373	10
Mahdipur	2045	4481	350
Machhike	585	1018	93

All these villages stood completely devastated, and not a single home was inhabitable. Four other villages of Noorwala, Chak Ladhoke, Naiwala Autar and Muhammadiwala with the total area of 3014 acres were wiped out of existence.

The retreating Pakistani soldiers had plastered the walls of the broken houses and temples with slogans containing filthy abuse against Indians and their leaders. One inscription said : "We came, we saw, we conquered, and we will come again." At many places most filthy abuses against Prime Minister Shastri and Mrs. Indira

Gandhi were written. The abuses in English were translated in choicest Urdu, Panjabi and Bengali. For the illiterate there were graphic cartoons, leaving nothing to imagination. This was not the work of a solitary soldier in the lower ranks. Hundreds of Pakistanis had written out such abuses. Indians were painted as greedy, servile, shameless, coward, dhoti-wearing, fat-bellied *lalas*. In one of the temples, there was a grim reminder of Somnath through an inscription : "I am not a worshipper, but a breaker of idols." A wall bore these words : "Oh Indians ! Whenever you think of Khem Karan, remember a thousand years of your history."

In Fazilka sector, thirty-one villages, covering an area of about 20 square miles was captured by Pakistan thirty hours after the ceasefire. In all these villages, Pakistani forces did the maximum damage to everything on which they laid their hands. They burnt villages and dismantled houses to secure material for construction of defensive works and bunkers along the line of actual control from Channanwala to Mauzim, 5 miles south-west and 3 miles north-west of Fazilka respectively. All the material of roofs, doors, windows and ventilators even of mud-built houses was taken away. The material of Persian wheels was removed, and they were totally rendered unfit for use. Bricks of pucca houses and Government buildings were carted away. Eleven posts of the Panjab Armed Police were razed to the ground. The electric poles, wires and tube-well installations were missing. Property worth about Rs. 20 lakhs was seized. Kharif crop over 6,000 acres was looted, and 4,000 people became homeless. One hundred and twenty-five persons were taken prisoners, of whom 70 young girls and women remained untraceable.²³

The Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur district at a press conference on March 5, 1966, disclosed that 1,777 *jhugis* were completely destroyed in villages vacated by Pakistani troops in the Fazilka sector on the evening of February 25, 1966 in pursuance of the Tashkent declaration. In these villages 70 pucca houses had suffered a loss of less than Rs. 2,000 each, and to another 17 pucca houses more than Rs. 2,000 each ; 1269 kachcha houses had suffered a loss of less than Rs. 1,000 each, while in 25 kachcha houses damage was more than Rs. 1,000 each. The residential houses in these 31 villages had been damaged to the extent of Rs. 65 lakhs. Eleven pickets of the Panjab Armed Police which were levelled to the ground had suffered a loss of Rs. 5.5 lakhs. In the villages of Gharumi

Bariwala and Pucca Chishti, the Pakistanis had thrown dead bodies of animals, including dogs into wells to make their water unfit for human consumption. Such was the wanton and deliberate destruction done by the brute enemy. Some of the slogans written in charcoal on walls said : "We came for a walk and had it and will come again if need be." "We will conquer India." "If the Kashmir dispute is not settled, we will make another swoop to skin the Indian sheep like wolves."

RAJASTHAN

On April 5, 1966, Y.B. Chavan, then Defence Minister of India, stated in the Parliament that the Pakistani forces before vacating Munabao in the Barmer sector damaged the railway station building, staff quarters check-post hall, relieving lodge and water tanks, and demolished the rest house. The Pakistani forces also took away the entire furniture, a large length of railway track, signal equipment, etc.

INDIAN REPLY TO PAKISTANI BRUTALITY

The Government of India, on the other hand, unlike Pakistanis, the living idols of brutality and cruelty, ordered the Army not to retaliate upon Pakistani civilians. Under their instructions all the mosques and tombs in the Pakistani territory occupied by Indian forces in Hajipir, Sialkot sector, Dograi and Burki were completely renovated and whitewashed. The houses used were cleaned and repaired. Graves of unknown Pakistani soldiers killed in action in September 1965 were carefully preserved and decorated with flowers. Frightened villagers all along the borders of West Pakistan felt relieved when they saw our forces advancing without touching their persons or property. In the beginning most of them had hidden themselves in their houses on hearing the roar of Indian guns and tanks. These abandoned villagers had waited for the worst to happen. But they were pleasantly surprised to find the Indian security forces move in to assure them full protection. Residents of various villages told newsmen that the Indian troops had taken full precautions to ensure that no vicious person from Pakistan or India dared touch the people. One educated villager said that people had been fed on the lie that the morale in India was crumbling and that the Sikhs were in revolt. He found Indians looking cheerful and Sikhs fighting determinedly along with Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

Indian forces withdrawing in pursuance of the Tashkent

Agreement received orders from headquarters to restore every single item that was captured during the recent conflict. Hence they collected all the captured articles including boats and even unstrung cots. Lists of these articles were drawn up, and were handed over to the Pakistani commanders. All the articles were handed over to Major Nawaz of Pakistan Army on the Indian side at Wagah in the presence of United Nations Observers. Among them were a car, a motor cycle, three scooters, a scooter rickshaw, two autocycles, seven tractors, a three-tonne truck, a civilian bus, 'a chaff-cutter, three iron ploughs, an electric motor, a ferry boat, and a host of other things. In Sialkot sector Indian commanders handed over civilian articles to Pakistan. They included lorries, grass cutting machines, handpumps, diesel petrol engines of flour mills, cane crushers, private cars, and motor cycles." India, in fact, behaved in the most civilized manner. Even the hostile Western critics praised her "fair game" in this field. The real answer should have been an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

(4)

Eastern Sector

In order to reduce Indian pressure in the western wing, Pakistan escalated tension on the eastern border, giving one provocation after another. To start with the enemy opened up unprovoked firing. It was conscious that in the event of India reacting sharply to its provocation, China would come to its rescue. A similarity in the tactics of the Chinese troops on the Sikkim border and Pakistani soldiers on the eastern border was discernible. Both aimed at harassing the border people and our jawans.

The Pakistan authorities tried to cajole the people of East Pakistan to rally behind the Government and support its policies in the name of Kashmir. Commenting on the official propaganda the columnist "Musafir" of the leading East Pakistan daily *Itifaq* said that "appeals for unstinted support to President Ayub made by the Central Minister, Mr. Ghulam Faruq, and the East Pakistan Muslim League Chief, Mr. Abdul Jabbar Khan, have neither substance nor meaning. Kashmir is an old problem and suspension of American aid, according to these very ruling party dignitaries, will not affect Pakistan's economic development. What is more important than either of these two supposed problems," the daily observed, "is the denial of democratic rights to the people.

The 'basic democracy' is an insult to the nation, because it proves that the rulers cannot take the people into confidence." Referring to the systematic neglect of East Pakistan's economy by the regime, the columnist said that "during the seven years of Ayub's rule, the per capita income of the people of the province has not risen, and want and poverty in the rural areas have increased.³⁵" The students of Dacca held a demonstration and warned the non-Bengali Muslims that if they whipped communal trouble, they would be severely dealt with.³⁶

In spite of this, the bad elements in society began to plunder, rape and kidnap Hindus. Many of them were forced to quit East Pakistan. In a resolution passed on August 24, 1965, the working committee of the All India Bharat Sadhu Samaj expressed concern over the atrocities being committed on the minority community in East Pakistan.

The Government of India had made it clear from the very beginning that India had no quarrel with the people of East Pakistan, unless the war was forced upon it. Giving a report on the military situation in the Lok Sabha on September 8, 1965, Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan explained that Pakistan was trying to draw this country towards the eastern side *despite our reluctance to enlarge the conflict*. He assured the House that Indian troops had taken up positions within the Indian territory in the eastern sector in order to meet any threat of aggression by Pakistan. According to a report of the UNI dated September 16, 1965, the leading world powers including the United States and Russia made an earnest appeal to India not to retaliate in the eastern sector, "whatever the provocation." The Indian Army also saw no military purpose apart from other considerations in opening a front in that sector. Consequently, the war on the eastern side was confined to Pakistani pinpricks.

COOCH BEHAR—DAHAGRAM

India raised the bed of a half-mile stretch of road in its own territory, Tin Bigha, passing by the side of Dahagram, a Pakistani enclave in India, located in the Mekhliganj sub-division of Cooch Behar district in North Bengal. It was made an excuse by Pakistan for the harassment of Indian labourers working on the road. This was done in spite of the fact that in 1963 Pakistan had built an embankment very close to our border opposite to our observation post at Ghojadanga



No. 11 : Eastern Sector

in 24 Parganas. Another embankment was constructed near the border in Khulna district opposite our border post in 24 Parganas. We raised no objection to these measures. On the evening of September 3, 1965 four Pakistani nationals crossed into the Indian territory at Mekhliganj. One of them was captured by the Indian border police, while the three others were chased away. At this the Pakistani border police from Dahagram opened fire on Indian policemen. Pakistani nationals were frequently crossing the Indian territory to go to Dahagram from the Pakistan mainland without any valid travel documents. Fifty-two Mujahids infiltrated from Dahagram in the first week of September 1965. This was in clear violation of the agreements between West Bengal and East Pakistan.

Pakistan cleared all civilians from a six-mile belt along the Assam-East Pakistan border and settled armed Mujahids in the area. The Mujahids were raised from illegal immigrants deported from Assam and Tripura. Some of the Mujahids were trained as intelligence scouts. They were also given military training to infiltrate into India. Pakistan also deployed Baluchis and its Panjab Regiment along its border with the Tripura State and Cachar district of Assam. The Government of East Pakistan started "Crush India" movement. The East Pakistan Muslim League made strenuous efforts to whip up communal and anti-Indian feelings. A correspondent of the *Times*, London, wrote that the Pakistan Government might be planning to instigate communal riots in East Bengal in the hope that they would lead to rioting in India. "It is remembered here that the demonstration in the town of Khulna, in East Pakistan, last year (1964) ended in the murder of some Hindus, and set the pendulum of communal killings swinging—there was retaliation in Calcutta, then in Dacca, and so on."

Early in the morning on September 4, 1965, a band of armed Pakistanis accompanied by some East Pakistan Rifles personnel, trespassed into the Indian border village of Bhagranguri, in Mathabhanga police station of Cooch Behar district. The intruders, armed with swords, spears, guns and other weapons, raided a house, injured the owner and two other inmates of the house, and decamped with valuables worth about Rs. 4,000. On September 6, an Indian passenger train was detained by a Pakistani mob at Mogalhat. The mob assaulted the Indian railway staff and passengers. This Indo-Pakistan passenger train runs between Gitaldaha-Mogalhat and

declared that they were not responsible for either the damage or destruction of the pillars. They blamed the miscreants both Pakistani and Indian.³⁷ S. L. Singh, Chief Minister of Tripura, told a press conference at Agartala on 2 September that Pakistan had mobilised its army in all the sectors of the Tripura-East Pakistan border. He said that Pakistan continued intermittent firing on Balonia, Karangichera and Tarakpur. Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Minister of State for External Affairs, said in Rajya Sabha on 7 September that East Pakistan committed intrusion into an area of about five square miles in the Ichachari-Patichari mauza of Tripura, claiming this tract as its own. On 13-14 September Pakistani troops resorted to unprovoked firing on the villages of Srimantapura and Durgapur. On 18 September Pakistanis fired about 40 rounds from a village opposite to Sonamura in Tripura.

AGARTALA

On August 6, 1965 East Pakistan Rifles patrol dressed in civilian clothes entered Indian territory in area of Radhanagar near Agartala under the jurisdiction of Bishalgarh police station and opened fire on the people. Our border police which rushed for rescue was also fired upon. When the fire was returned, the Pakistanis fled into their territory leaving behind one rifle, some ammunition and a bundle of clothes containing an East Pakistan Rifles uniform.

TWO INDIAN ENCLAVES

Dahala Khagrabari and Kotbhajani are two Indian enclaves in East Pakistan. The Pakistan authorities adopted a systematic campaign to harass and terrorize the residents of these places. Their object was to push them out of their homes. Two dacoities were committed in Dahala Khagrabari and a woman was abducted in Kotbhajani by Pakistani nationals. The East Pakistan Rifles personnel of Pakistan border outposts at Dangapara, Bhogdabri, Koktibari and Gomneti were constantly harassing the residents of the Indian enclaves, and robbed them of their belongings whenever they proceeded to visit the mainland.

ASSAM BORDER

Pakistan reinforced its troops along the Assam-East Pakistan border about the middle of August 1965. The concentration was heavy along East Pakistan's border with the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Cachar district. Troops were seen digging trenches and bunkers in these two sectors. On August 26, 1965, a gang of Pakistani miscreants trespassed into Indian territory and damaged standing paddy

crops in Gogra village worth about Rs. 20,000. K. P. Tripathi, Development Minister of Assam, declared at Calcutta on September 1, 1965 that armed Pakistani Mujahids settled in six-mile belt" in Sylhet-Cachar area on East Pakistan—Assam border were given training in guerilla warfare. Heavy concentrations of Pakistani forces were noticed all along the Kushtia and Jessore borders on September 6. Pakistani troops were mobilised between Benapole and Jhikargacha in Jessore district. The civil population in Pakistani villages near Bongaon was evacuated. About 1,000 Hindus, including women and children, of Faridpur and Jessore districts in East Pakistan were coming to India with migration certificates issued six months previously by the Indian Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca. They were severely beaten. Some girls and women were molested. Then they were driven back to their homes from near the Pakistan border station of Darshana by Pakistan armed forces. Following the Chinese ultimatum East Pakistan authorities collected hundreds of boats in the Brahmaputra at the place where Goalpara district of Assam and Rangpur district of East Pakistan met. Many of these boats were of the capacity of 50 tons. Their object was to send Mujahids into Assam in case of the Chinese invasion of India.

LATHITILLA-DUMABARI AREA

The East Pakistan Rifles resumed firing on August 8, 1965 in the Lathitilla-Dumabari area after a lull of eight days. They fired across the border into paddy fields. On August 11 one man of East Pakistan Rifles was killed when Indian border police replied to unprovoked firing by Pakistanis in this sector. On the morning of 12 August Pakistani troops opened fire on labourers working in tea gardens in the Assam border village of Lathitilla. The sporadic firing started with three light machinegun bursts. On the morning of August 19, 1965 Pakistanis started intermittent fire at the Indian tea garden of Putnalala and farm on the border village of Lathitilla. Indian security forces fired back in self-defence. One Pakistani rifleman was seriously injured. He was heard crying for help. The Pakistanis ceased fire immediately and the Indian farmers continued their work. The Pakistanis started firing again on September 10, and this continued for many days. They used medium machineguns, other automatic weapons and four bombs of 2 inches mortar in the Dumabari area on September 14. On September 21 one Pakistani soldier was killed in exchange of fire.

MIZO REBELS

Mizo hill district is one of the biggest autonomous districts of Assam. Its administration is carried through a district council. According to the 1961 Census its population was 2.7 lakhs and area 8,134 square miles. The district has common border for about 190 miles with East Pakistan and for about 250 miles with Burma. Members of the Mizo National Front developed contact with Pakistan in 1962 at the time of Chinese invasion. Since then the rebels have continued crossing over to Pakistan to receive specialised and intensive training in the use of modern weapons, explosives and field craft from Pakistan Army personnel. Pakistan also supplied arms and ammunition to the Mizo rebels. Arms and ammunition meant for Mizos were received at Chittagong airport. From there they were carried in trucks to Kaptai and then ferried up Karnaphuli river in motor launches. They were delivered to the Mizos at Ruma Bazar. The Mizos were also allowed the use of Pakistani territory to launch their operations against India. The outlawed Mizo National Front set up a military training centre near Phuldungsei, 20 miles north of Shillong on the tri-junction of Tripura, Mizo Hills district and Chittagong hill tracts of East Pakistan. Pakistan was also plotting rebellion in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills by imparting military training to the rebels of these areas.¹⁰

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Piracy

During the war and even after ceasefire Pakistan did not follow any principle of law or morality in any sphere of its activities concerning India. On 6 September, 1965, two Indian merchant vessels of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company were impounded at Karachi. S. S. *Sarasvati*, a coastal passenger liner, operated on the Bombay-Karachi run. S. S. *Jalrajendra*, a 10,000 ton freighter, had called at Karachi from Europe to unload about 3,500 tons of general cargo before coming to India. The *Sarasvati* had about 60 persons aboard including the crew. The *Jalrajendra* had 55 officers and men. All of them were arrested and sent to a concentration camp. In addition, another coastal vessel was also impounded. The insured value of these ships was Rs. 145 lakhs. The cargo aboard was 4,238 tonnes. The whole cargo was worth about Rs. 10 crores. The impounding of the Indian vessels was absolutely illegal, and amounted to nothing short of piracy.

On 8 September Pakistan issued orders that even neutral vessels were liable to be captured by a prize court. Three kinds of expropriation were attempted by Pakistan. First, there were the Indian ships impounded by Pakistan in its ports. Secondly, there was cargo meant for India carried in non-Indian ships on the high seas and touching Pakistani ports en route. Thirdly, there was the cargo carried by non-Indian companies through the inland waters of East Pakistan. Pakistan seized Indian ships and cargo in all the three cases without any consideration for international law applicable in such cases. To give its acts a judicial aspect it constituted prize courts, and thereby reduced the well-known terms of private international law to a farce.

India, consistent with her efforts to keep the hostilities within the minimum military limits, showed considerable forbearance. It readily agreed to neutral suggestions of mutually acceptable procedures for dealing with these difficulties. But Pakistan's response to such suggestions was unhelpful. As a retaliatory measure India introduced contraband control on September 14, 1965. It seized three Pakistani ships—Ilyas Bakhsh in Bombay, Ocean Enterprise in Calcutta and Al-Hasan at Visakhapatnam. The insured value of these ships was Rs. 169 lakhs and the cargo on board was 2,407 tonnes. India tried through commercial as well as diplomatic channels that Pakistan should stop this piracy. India offered to return Pakistani ships along with their crew and cargo untouched if Pakistan would reciprocate. The Red Cross efforts for exchange of crews failed. Pakistan declined to release the expectant wife of the captain of Jalrajendra even on humanitarian ground.

India issued notice to all its ships to avoid crossing Pakistani waters. It also requested neutral nations to deliver cargo meant for India either at a neutral port or an Indian port before proceeding to Pakistan to unload their goods. Thirty-eight vessels belonging to neutral nations complied with India's request. There were many which touched the Pakistani ports first. A large collection of rare pieces of sculpture and miniature paintings had been exhibited throughout the United States. This art treasure was on its way back to India on board a British ship, when the fighting between India and Pakistan broke out. The ship carrying the precious Indian cargo touched Chittagong. The Pakistan authorities immediately tried to forfeit all Indian goods on board. A combination of skill, tact and persistence on the part of the Union Education Ministry, then headed by M.C. Chagla, a Muslim, saved the invaluable collection. The shipping

company was eventually able to prevent its seizure. Nineteen vessels flying flags of various maritime countries were detained by Pakistan and the Indian cargoes were unloaded. Even non-contraband articles like fertilizers, books, newsprint and telephone equipment were seized.

On the other hand, India had assured shipping lines, their owners, captains and agents, that so long as their vessels did not carry contraband cargo, India would not impound the cargo which could be delivered without any restriction to Pakistan after unloading the Indian cargo at an Indian port. Among those who did not accede to India's request was a very pinching case of an American-owned ship, *Steel Vendor*. This vessel arrived in Bombay on September 12, 1965. After registering its name with the port authorities for entry into the port, it left for Karachi on the same day with Indian cargo despite attempts by the Indian Government to recall the ship to Bombay for unloading Indian cargo. This cargo was confiscated and off-loaded at Karachi. India lost 3,000 tons of general cargo. An Italian freighter, *Adige*, had hidden in her holds valuable equipment, mainly radar and electronic, for various airfields in Pakistan. It had on board at least 1,370 cases consigned to Sargodha, Montgomery, Wah, Daulknel and Peshawar in one lot and 1,355 cases for Peshawar and Daulknel in another lot. This equipment was loaded from Trieste, Genoa, Naples and Venice. Over this cargo were placed luxury cars and buses, 140 in number, tube railway equipment for Karachi and steel plates pellets. The total value of cargo was estimated at one crore of rupees. Of this 300 tons of cargo, comprising personal belongings of the officers and men of the ship, articles for the Italian Embassy in Karachi and medicines were allowed to be taken to Karachi.

Pakistan authorities seized a Yugoslav ship at Karachi in the beginning of October 1965 and unloaded urgent equipment needed by the Yamuna Hydro-Electric Scheme. The first stage of the Yamuna scheme for generation of 48,000 kilowatts of electric energy at a cost of Rs. 16 crores was being erected with Yugoslav machinery. Its commissioning was held up for want of this material.

RIVER NAVIGATION

The inland water route between Assam and Calcutta passes through East Pakistan. Besides, out of goodwill India employed almost all the men serving in steamers plying between West Bengal and Assam from East Pakistani Muslims. During the Chinese invasion of 1962

the Pakistani crew had organised a general strike of rivermen to harm India. The Government of India does not employ Indian sailors in the river system navigation, simply because it wants to patronise Pakistanis. Even now in Calcutta alone over 1,500 Pakistani Muslims are employed by river companies. During this war Pakistan impounded Indian vessels with the active co-operation of the Pakistani crew. On 9 September some Calcutta-bound steamers laden with 70,000 chests of tea, valued at about two crores of rupees were detained in transit by the East Pakistani authorities. Steamers and other vessels carrying cargoes worth about five crores of rupees, comprising tea from British-owned estates in Assam, jute goods, foodstuffs and stationery from Calcutta were confiscated by Pakistan. Indian cargo worth over five crores belonging to sterling companies was also confiscated by it. Pakistan seized 173 inland vessels, 40 steamers and 122 flats. Of these 15 steamers and 34 flats belonged to the British owned River System Navigation Company. All these vessels and their cargoes were usurped under the plea of war booty. Even after the ceasefire, towards the end of October 1965, Pakistan confiscated Indian cargo of jute and tea to the value of 5.35 crores.

By paralysing the vital water transport system which carried the bulk of merchandise between Assam and West Bengal, Pakistan hit both India and East Pakistan. Jute, the main cash crop of East Pakistan, had no market. Its mills were badly affected because of fuel shortage caused by the stoppage of coal supply from India. The price of jute jumped to Rs.16 per bale. Foodstuffs also became scarce. Pakistan did not stop to continue its campaign of piracy against India up to January 1966. On 22 November 1965 the United States suggested to both the countries to release each other's cargoes which they had detained during the hostilities. The Government of India agreed to the proposal, but Pakistan rejected it. As desired by the United States, the Government of India unilaterally released the United States cargo meant for Pakistan, though the United States did not exert to get back from Pakistan the American goods meant for India.

After the Tashkent Declaration, the Government of India unilaterally released the entire Pakistani cargo. Pakistan appropriated the whole of Indian cargo and all the Indian vessels. Only two ships, Sarvasati and Jalayendra were returned to India on October 20, 1966, in exchange for the three Pakistani ships. Both sides of the Lok Sabha were highly critical on August 5, 1966 of the Union

Government's having released all cargo of Pakistan impounded by India without securing its on cargo. The Minister of Commerce pleaded that India's action flowed out of the Tashkent Agreement which called for normalisation of relations.

V.K.R.V. Rao, Minister of Transport and Shipping, told Rajya Sabha on April 3, 1967, that Pakistan was still holding one ocean-going ship, four sailing vessels and 173 inland water transport craft belonging to India which had been seized during the 1965 conflict. Rao said that in spite of "our best efforts, we have not been able to persuade Pakistan to return them to us." In answer to another question, the Minister stated: "We have not got back the cargo from Pakistan."⁴⁸ The total value of cargo seized by Pakistan amounted to Rs. 101 crores according to a statement made by Dinesh Singh, Commerce Minister, in the Rajya Sabha on April 6, 1967. Regarding Pakistani cargoes he said that the goods India had seized as a reciprocal measure were released subsequently and had gone back to Pakistan.⁴⁹

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Outrage on Diplomats and Journalists

DIPLOMATIC STAFF—KARACHI

Immediately after the outbreak of the hostilities (September 6), Pakistan snapped all ties with India except diplomatic. All communications, postal, telegraphic, by land, sea and air, were suspended. The Indian Press Attache was asked not to come to the Press Club. The Air Adviser, Group Captain Ram, a keen golfer, was told that he was no longer a member of the Golf Club. The Indian High Commissioner and his staff at Karachi were subjected to inhuman treatment and torture by Pakistan, leave alone the affront to diplomatic courtesy and etiquette. On 6 September they were forced to shift to a place having a common compound. A large group of Indian officials was obliged to stay in the Chancery overnight without any food or drink. On 7 September about 160 men, women and children were also ordered to shift to Chancery. On 11 September at 6-30 p.m. all the four residential buildings of the Indian High Commission were surrounded by Pakistan police armed with rifles and bayonets. The inmates were driven out. With abuse and insult their premises were searched. All trunks, boxes, suitcases were opened.

Personal effects of the families including clothings of women and children were searched and scattered on the floor. Even the High Commissioner's residence was not spared. Similar outrages were committed on the non-diplomatic staff. They terrorised women and children. They took away official papers, personal letters, photographs and the visitors' book. "The Pakistani authorities locked the gates of the compound in which some High Commission families lived. The Pakistani police stood guard inside the compound to prevent the residents from moving out. This resulted in extreme hardship for the residents who were without provisions for three days."⁴

On 13 September at 2-30 a. m. in a blackout night the armed police surrounded the Chancery of the High Commission. All the inmates were turned out of their rooms and made to stand in a line. The women were abused and insulted and children slapped. Every thing therein was searched in the most humiliating manner. Every desk, cupboard and safe were opened. Every paper that was found was carefully read. The telephones were disconnected. The Commission's cypher code was outrageously demanded. They would not leave unless assured that it had been destroyed. This barbarous search lasted four hours. After this the entire Indian staff was interned in their rooms for over a fortnight, and were treated as prisoners. The High Commissioner was forbidden to communicate with his assistants.

While this harrowing episode was going on, Kewal Singh, the Indian High Commissioner, used his phone which was still connected. He gave the information of the Pakistani action to a few foreign diplomatic missions and foreign correspondents. But the news did not become public either in Karachi or outside. The police cut off the High Commissioner's telephone connection to prevent any message going out. Pakistan prevented the Yugoslav Embassy in Karachi from contacting New Delhi or Belgrade by choking their communication lines. The Yugoslav diplomats were not allowed to meet anyone in the Indian High Commission. Neither the British nor the Americans conveyed the information to New Delhi although both the U. K. High Commission and the U. S. Embassy in Karachi had direct links with the Indian capital. The British High Commission pleaded helplessness on the ground of non-functioning of telegraph lines, though it secured information about the welfare of some officers of the Pakistan International Airways in New Delhi. The U. S. Embassy said that it was not able to contact the Indian High Commissioner, though its

office was at a stone's throw from U. S. Embassy building. The attitude shown by the British and American diplomats amounted to abetting Pakistan in its brutality, and their complete indifference towards India. On 14 September the CID completed their raids by searching residences from which Indian personnel had been evacuated

On 21 September at 10-30 a.m. about 200 people came and marched around the Chancery shouting objectionable slogans. The demonstrators dispersed after about 20 minutes. An hour later the hooligans were joined by a mob of about 3,000 men. They arrived with three truck-loads of stones. They were all hurled on the building. They were so directed by hand as well as slings as to reach its fourth storey. Almost every window and glass door was smashed. Flaming kerosene-soaked-rags were thrown in an attempt to destroy building and burn all the inmates alive. They did actually set alight some bushes near the High Commission's auditorium. The fire luckily did not spread. The attack lasted an hour, and ceased only when the stones, etc., had been exhausted. After another hour a third mob appeared with more truck-loads of stones which they again hurled at the Chancery for over half an hour before dispersing. These happenings had no parallel in diplomatic history. Pakistan had shown complete disregard for the principles of inviolability on which diplomatic relations were based. In these heinous deeds Pakistan followed Indonesia. China's instigation might have played some part. For India the only way to escape such humiliations in future is strictly to apply the well-known proverb, "Diamond cuts a diamond", and to give tit for tat. In fighting brutes we must become brutes even to a greater degree.

Pakistanis were never informed of the epic battles of Khem Karan, Burki, Dograi, Phillaurah and Chawinda. Every reverse was presented by Pakistan press to its readers as a victory. The people of Pakistan therefore protested against the UN resolution ordering Pakistan and India to a ceasefire from September 22, 1965. There was a general strike in Karachi with all shops and business houses closed on 21 September. A mob of about 10 000 held a demonstration of shouting anti-UN, anti-US and anti-India slogans such as "Down with the United Nations" and "Quit CENTO and SEATO". Several processions marched along the main streets of Karachi chanting anti-UN slogans. The demonstrators carried portraits of Indonesian President Sukarno, the Chinese leaders, Chou En-lai and Mao Tse-

tung, King Hussein of Jordan, the Shah of Iran and President Gursel of Turkey. Another procession marched towards the US Embassy, but it was blocked by police. Then the mob burst upon the US Information Service Library, set it on fire, destroyed about 25,000 books, and pulled down the United Nations flag from the UN building. One more procession led by the Mayor of Karachi, went to the Embassies of Jordan and Iraq to thank their Governments for supporting Pakistan in the United Nations. About 100 Arab students went to the US Embassy and presented a letter to the Ambassador expressing their resentment over the US Government policy towards Kashmir and Pakistan. In Lahore, thousands of demonstrators stoned the US Consulate and tore down the Stars and Stripes.⁴²

The Karachi customs authorities searched on October 12, 1965 the diplomatic bag of the Indian courier from Delhi in violation of the well-recognised and time-honoured diplomatic convention. Besides an assurance had been given by Pakistani authorities beforehand that the courier would be given all facilities and safe conduct.

RAWALPINDI

The Indian Consul at Rawalpindi, G. L. Puri, was ill-treated by the Pakistan police. On September 10, 1965 a CID official searched the Consul's house, examined various boxes and suitcases in his residence, and made an inventory of all the articles found therein.

DACCA

The same was the fate of the members of the Deputy High Commission at Dacca and their families, 458 members in all. They were evacuated from their scattered residences into five specific houses containing only 48 rooms on 8 September. On 9 September the Pakistan police forcibly seized the Deputy High Commission's visa office. On the night of September 10, all the inmates were driven out of their new residences and compelled to stay in still more inadequate accommodation under insanitary conditions. Thereafter the Indian personnel were subjected to increasingly harsh and humiliating treatment with complete contempt for their personal rights and privileges as members of a diplomatic mission. The Indian flag flying over the residence of Deputy High Commissioner was pulled down. The Deputy High Commissioner was not allowed to consult the Indian High Commissioner in Karachi on telephone and contact the home secretary or the chief secretary of East Pakistan. On the

night of 18 September members of the staff of the Commission and their families who had earlier been moved into the Chancery premises by the police were again forced out of that building by the Pakistan police. On the morning of 19 September the Indian personnel who normally stayed on in the Chancery building as care-takers were expelled by the Pakistan police to leave the Chancery premises. This resulted in the total seizure of the Chancery by the Government of Pakistan.

From 16 to 27 September the movements of the Commission staff were strictly restricted even in the day, and they were all kept under complete house arrest. No doctor was allowed to attend the sick. On 17 September the wife of a staff member gave birth to a child, but no doctor or nurse was permitted to be present. Milk vendors were forbidden to sell milk to the entire Indian staff. The local domestic servants were harassed and prevented entry to the premises. The gates of the residence of the Deputy High Commissioner were locked up each evening by the armed police pickets on duty. All telephones were disconnected. Members of the Commission could not see and talk to one another. Kohli, an official of the Commission, was returning to his residence from a visit to one of his colleagues at 9-30 p. m. on 5 October. He was rudely stopped by a member of the Pakistan CID and was subjected to humiliating interrogation on the road. Kohli was threatened with grave consequences in case he failed to give satisfactory answers to all the questions put to him. Later on the East Pakistan Government seized the Indian Airlines Corporation Office in Dacca and handed it over including the personal car of the officer-in-charge to the Pakistan International Airlines.

The Government of India lodged several protests to Pakistan Government. They were abruptly and totally rejected. The Indian Government most reluctantly imposed some restrictions on the Pakistan High Commission. All of its members were lodged at a single place. Postal, telegraph and telephone facilities for communication were withdrawn. No one could leave Delhi without the Government's permission. These restrictions were unilaterally relaxed by the Government of India after the ceasefire on 23 September 1965.

The Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi misused its diplomatic rights by circulating a map which showed false Pakistani claims to large parts of Indian territory under the occupation of Pakistani troops. The map issued stated that Pakistani troops were occupying

1,617 square miles of Indian territory, while Indian troops were in control of 446 square miles of Pakistani territory. The actual figures given by the Government of India were that Indian troops held 720 square miles of Pakistan territory while 210 square miles of Indian territory was under Pakistani occupation. Besides the Pakistan High Commission issued press releases whose main object was anti-Indian propaganda.

India's treatment of the members of the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi was a contrast to the actions of the Pakistani authorities. They enjoyed many facilities which were denied to members of the Indian High Commission. India permitted the International Red Cross to visit internment camps in this country, but Pakistan did not do so. A note issued by INFA at New Delhi on 11 October 1965 said: "While Indian High Commission officials in Karachi were subjected to a Nazi-style terrorism, Pakistani officials in New Delhi had a gala time. On October 9, 1965, senior Pakistani diplomats and their wives were seen waltzing away gaily in one of New Delhi's posh restaurants until the early hours of the morning." The Pakistan Deputy High Commission at Calcutta enjoyed all diplomatic courtesies and facilities in regard to their accommodation and movements. The Government of India recalled the Indian High Commissioner and most of the High Commission staff with their wives and children, in the beginning of November 1965. It did not seize the offices of the Pakistan International Airlines in India.

OTHER RESTRICTIONS

Some other restrictions were also applied. On 7 September Pakistan imposed restrictions on aircraft fuel, postal services to India and movements of visiting civilians. The same day all Indian banks in Pakistan Government to suspend business forthwith, and it took over assets and properties of Indian nationals and public authorities and their utilization, transfer and disposal. Indian assets in Pakistan were valued at over Rs. 320 crores and Pakistani assets in India at Rs. 43 crores.⁴⁴ Pakistan arrested all the 30,000 Indian nationals in Pakistan. They were mainly Hindus. Two years have passed, yet 102 of these internees are still rotting in Pakistani concentration camps.⁴⁵ Indian Muslims living in Pakistan were spared the ordeal. There were 10,000 Indian Muslims in Karachi alone. The Government of India, in retaliation, detained only 1,000 out of 14,000 Pakistani nationals. Besides, 5,000 Hindus, Pakistani nationals in East Pakistan, were put

in prison and detention camps. Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta, a veteran Congress leader of undivided Bengal, was first arrested and later kept under house detention.⁴⁶ The Government of India ordered the two Pakistani banks operating in India—the National Bank of Pakistan and the Habib Bank to suspend their business in India. The Reserve Bank of India banned all remittances to Pakistan, and any remittance by or on behalf of Pakistani nationals whether individual or firms in India to any other country in the world.

SPELL OF HORROR FOR JOURNALISTS

Reporting from Pakistan by Indian journalists had practically ceased since Pakistan's invasion of India in the Rann of Kutch in March 1965. All dispatches filed by Indian correspondents since then were heavily censored, mutilated and even withheld. No telephone call could be put through. Indian newsmen were shadowed. Their telephones were tapped. Mail was censored. Only their movements were not restricted until 6 September. All the news sent out of Pakistan by Western news agencies had only one central idea. Pakistan was a small peace-loving country. Its very existence was threatened by its big neighbour, India. It was impossible for a small country to attack a more powerful and larger country. September 6, 1965, marked the beginning of a spell of horror for Indian newsmen in Pakistan. The Pakistan Government cruelly treated Indian professional journalists of good standing, representing reputable newspapers and news agencies at Karachi, Rawalpindi and Dacca. At Karachi, there were three Indian journalists. They were imprisoned for 15 days in a concentration camp near Karachi and were later under house arrest for another 15 days. A lady with her 11-month old baby was locked up in a dirty dormitory in a police station. One of the journalists was lodged in a police cell with three convicts and a maniac for three days. Another at Rawalpindi was forced to spend four days in solitary confinement. All of them were given twice daily only two dry and hard *chapatis* with a cup of watery pulse. No breakfast or tea was ever served. A brief account of their tale of woe is given below :

(1) Chandra Prakash Maniktala, correspondent of the *Press Trust of India*, was picked up from his Karachi residence on 10 September. He was taken to police headquarters. The first question put to him was, "who has the transmitter" ? He replied he knew nothing about it, and no journalist or anyone in the Indian High Commission had it. He was taken to a police cell and lodged for

three days and two nights with four others, alleged to be Indian paratroopers. Maniktala wrote: "I was given no food and no bedding during my first night in the cell and passed a sleepless night on the bare cemented floor. Next night I was served a thick *roti* and waterish *dal* along with others in my hands." "On the morning of Sunday—my third day in the cell—my wife and child were brought to the cell. An hour earlier they had been forcibly evicted from our office-cum-residence in a Karachi hotel. It was a heart-rending scene during the five-minute meeting with my family. My wife collapsed just outside the bars of my cell and the baby screamed with tears rolling down her cheeks: 'Dady, come home'." In the evening Maniktala was driven to a concentration camp in Borstal jail at Landhi colony, 25 miles from Karachi. All their belongings were seized. He was lodged with 60 other men in a single dormitory. They were given one thick *roti* and *dal* twice in hands without any breakfast or tea. To fetch a 4-anna packet of cigarettes, the constable had to be paid Rs. 5/- as bribe. His wife and child were put in a women's jail. They were released on 28 September and then kept under house arrest for 18 days. They flew to Delhi on October 15, 1965.

(2) Narayan Swamy of the *Indian Express* was housed for three days in a police dormitory. The place was extremely filthy, insanitary and infested with flies, mosquitoes and bugs. He was allowed to procure meals from outside and had ample reading material. On 13 September he was transferred to Borstal jail. There he was deprived of all his belongings. Twice a day, at noon and at 6 p.m., a lorry brought their meals. Each internee was given two thick *rotis* and a bowl of *dal*. No tea or breakfast was supplied. No newspapers were allowed. Smoking was forbidden. Money was smuggled in. For a 20-paise packet of cigarettes Rs. 5/- was to be paid. The camp contained journalists, merchants, stock brokers, employees of the State Bank of India and the Indian Airlines Corporation, officers and crew of Indian ships "*Sarasvati*" and "*Jalrajendra*", visitors from India who had failed to return in time and about a dozen fishermen whose catamaran had been seized by Pakistan Navy. There was no physical violence and no intimidation. At his ten hours' interrogation, Narayan Swamy was given a hard time. He was accused of being a spy and was questioned about his contacts with politicians, mercantile community, defence personnel, diplomats and so on. He was asked about his daily routine in Karachi, his childhood in Madras, his political convictions. Forty foolscap sheets were filled

with his answers. The interrogation lasted full five hours. Next day some other officer took over the interrogation which also lasted another five hours. He was later told that the Pakistanis whom he used to meet would not be spared.

(3) V. V. R. Sharma, *The Times of India* Staff correspondent, was in Pakistan with headquarters in Karachi. He was living in a suburban locality, six miles from Karachi. His wife and one-year-old son had joined him for the first time in Karachi six weeks earlier. He took his wife and child to the residence of an Indian High Commission official at 'Shivaji Court' for protection. On 11 September when 200 Pakistani policemen were searching the residences of Indian High Commission, he was sent for by the police officer, who curtly told him, "you are under arrest." His two suitcases were thoroughly searched. His wife and child were also arrested. They were taken to a police station. From there they were taken to another police station in the Civil Lines. There they were locked up in a dirty dormitory. He was subjected to gruelling interrogation continuously for five hours. It looked as if the meaningless interrogation was a method of harassment. Next morning they were told that the amount sanctioned for their food was Re. 1 per head per day and their food would be supplied from a nearby pavement restaurant. On 13 September they were taken to the Immigration Department at police headquarters. Then they were removed to the Borstal jail. They were forced to surrender all their articles. They went without food for the whole day. At night they were required to stand in a queue for one hard *rotl* and some tasteless watery potato curry. His wife and child were removed to women's jail. There were occasions when even one *rotl* was not served on the pretext that the van bringing it had broken down on the way. Listening to Radio Pakistan was prohibited. The jailor used to remark, "Thank your stars, you are being treated like human beings." Several inmates were attacked by diarrhoea and other ailments. One internee who was suffering from a duodenal ulcer was taken to hospital for treatment and after two days brought back to the jail with a black eye. They saw lights in the jail barracks on 25 September for the first time. Then they knew there was a ceasefire. On 27 September he was let off from jail, but was kept under house arrest for 8 days. His house had been ransacked by his landlord in his absence.

(4) Alfred of the *Press Trust of India* at Rawalpindi was whisked away from his residence by armed police on 8 September.

He was not allowed even to give instructions to his wife who was absolutely new to Rawalpindi having arrived there only three days earlier. He was taken to the central jail and lodged in an isolated cell. His wife was left alone in a five-room flat in complete blackout nights. She was arrested on 10 September. She was not allowed to take anything from the house. The police stayed in the room when she changed her clothes. She had to remain the whole day at a police station without food. She was not permitted to join her husband. She was detained for one month to prevent her from 'acting' in a manner prejudicial to the safety of Pakistan. Alfred was not given any food until next evening. Two dry *chapatis* without any pulse or vegetable were given to him twice daily. The cell was mud-floored and was infested with ants and bugs. Two dirty, dusty, foul-smelling blankets in rags were given to him. His warders claimed that this cell had been occupied formerly by the Frontier Gandhi, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, and by K. H. Khurshid, former President of "Azad Kashmir." After his release from there he was interned at Islamabad for five weeks at the resident of Indian Consul, G. L. Puri. Then they were brought to Karachi. No outsider was allowed in their room for eight days. No newspapers or any other reading material was supplied. A messenger from Indian High Commission was beaten up by the police guard outside their room.

In harassing and torturing the Indian journalists, the object of the Pakistan Government was to establish that Indian correspondents were "spies working under cover for the Indian High Commission." The ridiculous nature of the charge was convincingly proved by straight and simple replies given individually by all of them. They proved that they worked for no one except as pure and simple newsmen for their respective institutions.⁴⁷ Such outrages can be stopped only if the enemy is convinced that this country will retaliate in full, even to a greater degree. It is the bounden duty of the Government of India to secure perfect safety of the lives, honour and property of its nationals in the enemy country.

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CHAPTER TWO

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- 2 *Morning News*, Dacca, June 19, 1962.
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- 5 In a written answer to D. D. Puri, the External Affairs Minister, Swaran Singh, stated in the Lok Sabha on September 6, 1965: "The total area of Indian territory under the illegal occupation of China is approximately 14,500 square miles in Ladakh. The total area of Indian territory illegally occupied by Pakistan is approximately 32,500 square miles in Jammu and Kashmir." [PTI, New Delhi, September 6, 1965, *The Tribune*, Ambala, September 8, 1965, p. 10, column 2.]
- 6 Joseph Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, New Jersey, 1954, p. 6.
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- 10 N. V. Gadgil, then a cabinet minister, *The Spokesman Weekly*, October 11, 1965.
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- 12 In "1947, as many as 250,000 Pakistani raiders invaded Kashmir." (V.K. Krishna Menon in a broadcast from All India Radio on September 6, 1965. *Vide in the Face of Aggression*, Publications Division, 63).
- 13 Piru Singh was unmarried. He was the youngest of the three brothers. The rules say that the medal can be given only to one who is a direct descendant. Hence neither the medal nor any cash prize was given to the family. (*Patriot*, New Delhi, August 8, 1965.)
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- 15 On January 15, 1948 Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Sir Zafarullah Khan in a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations absolutely denied any share of Pakistan's Government in the invasion of Kashmir by the frontier tribesmen.

Sir Owen Dixon, U. N. mediator in the Kashmir dispute, reported on September 19, 1950, that "The crossing of the Kashmir frontier by Pakistan tribesmen and regular forces had been contrary to international law."
- 16 There is no law to determine what aggression is. It was proposed to define the meaning of aggression in Article 39 of the U. N. Charter. The definition was not accepted on the ground that it introduced an undue element of rigidity. The Security Council was authorised to determine whether a particular act was aggression. The Nuremberg trial of the war criminals was not based on any law of the United Nations with respect to aggressive wars. Chief reliance was placed on the Briand-Kellogg Pact. By it the contracting parties had renounced war as an instrument of national policy, thus making war an illegal act.

Article 96 of the U. N. Charter gives an option to the Security Council to request the International Court of Justice to express an advisory opinion of any legal question. Thus in the absence of any law defining aggression, aggression is not a legal question.

The League of Nations did not declare war unlawful. After the moratorium of nine months members were free to go to war to settle their disputes. Before the Kellogg-Briand Pact was signed, Kellogg had made it clear that for the United States wars of self-defence included any action to prevent the infringement of the Monroe Doctrine. Britain declared that her right of self-defence included the right to defend certain regions of the world where she thought she had a vital interest.

There is no law in all this, but only manifestation of power. Aggression is an abuse of power. It is a *golf* in action. There is no answer to it except the *golf*. And this is what India tries to avoid.

- 17 B. N. Rau, *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, November 7, 1965.
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- 32 The outside world must know that India provides the Kashmiri people with food at the lowest price. The subsidy costs the Government Rs. 6 crores. In towns and cities a quota of 8.5 kilograms of wheat *atta* is supplied. Rural people have always some rice left after sale. Nearly 17 lakhs out of 20 lakhs in Kashmir Valley and 30 lakhs out of the total population of 36 lakhs of the Jammu and Kashmir population receive the ration. Education is practically free to all sections of the population from the Kindergarten to the university standard. Expenditure on education has multiplied fifteen times with more boys and girls going to schools and colleges. Almost every far-flung village or under-developed area has a school. During 1966-67 about Rs. 412 lakhs of non-plan and Rs. 135 lakhs Plan expenditure was incurred on education.

- 33 *UNI, Jammu, August 25, 1966.*
- 34 M. K. Gandhi, *The Way to Communal Harmony*, 346.
- 35 *Vide Let Pakistan Speak for Herself*, Publications Division, Government of India, 1965.
- 36 *The Paradox of India-Pakistan Relations*, 19. (Go I publication)
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- 38 *The Paradox of India-Pakistan Relations*, 33.

CHAPTER THREE

- 1 The town of Rawalpindi, capital of Pakistan is of modern origin. It occupies the site of an old village, inhabited by a sect of Hindu mendicants, oculists and divines known as Rawals. The village of Rawal situated to the north of the town on the road to Murree was a "flourishing place" in the beginning of the present century. Jhanda Khan, a Gakhar chief, gave the city its present name Rawalpindi (a village of Rawals)

The place gained prominence in 1765 when it was occupied by a Sikh chief named Gujjar Singh Bhangi. He set up his headquarters at Gujrat and appointed Milkha Singh in charge of Rawalpindi as his deputy. "The Sirdar invited traders to settle at Rawalpindi from various places, and tried his best to give the town a considerable importance" (*Rawalpindi District Gazetteer* (1907), pp 245-46) Milkha Singh died in 1804. His son Jiwan Singh succeeded him. On his death in 1814, the district passed under the direct administration of Ranjit Singh.

In the late thirties of the last century, Shabamat Ali gave the following description of the place: "Rawalpindi is a small town, with an abundance of supplies procurable, dry Kabul fruits are to be had in plenty. It is surrounded by a mud wall about a mile in circumference; the buildings are generally of mud. Shah Shujah, after his flight from Peshawar, took refuge here, and remained for several years. The house erected by him is still extant; and serves as a residence to the governor of the district, named Bhai Dal Singh. There are about five hundred shops in Rawalpindi. The net revenue of the town is 150,000 rupees per annum, including land-tax, transit duties and co. The town is known for its manufacture of ornamented shoes: there are somewhat more than four thousand people in the town. Bhai Dal Singh is liked by the people, and has had charge of the town for six years" (*Sikhs and Afghans*, 148-49)

Alexander Burnes described Shah Shuja's house as "a miserable hovel," but he found the town "agreeable" in the nearby hills Burnes knew of a town called Porewala. He considered that the place "might have some relation to the renowned Portus of Hydaspes." (*Travels*, I, 68.)

Burnes's companion Mohan Lal recorded that the winters of Rawalpindi were "colder than those of Lahore. The population is reckoned to be equal

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to that of Pind Dadan Khan. The inhabitants are chiefly Hindus, by whom other castes are tolerated...This town is enriched by the trade in raisin, almonds, grapes and co. and blankets, and is frequented by the merchants of Peshawar, Kabul, and C. From this place all sorts of commodities from the upper countries are exported to the different parts of the Panjab."

(*Travels*, 33.)

- 2 *Harvest of Glory*, 5. (Go I publication)
- 3 K. C. Saxena, *Pakistan*, 21.
- 4 *Pakistan's Aggression on the Kutch Border*, 3. (Go I publication)
- 5 Prime Minister Shastri's statement in the Lok Sabha on April 28, 1965. Vide *Pakistan's Aggression on the Kutch Border*, p. 6.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- 8 Point 84 lies 30 miles east of Kanjarkot.
- 9 *Pakistan's Aggression in Kutch*, p. 3.
- 10 The note submitted by the Permanent Representative of India to the U.N. to the President, Security Council, on April 28, 1965, quoted by K. C. Saxena, *Pakistan*, 39.
- 11 Blarbet is situated 45 miles south-east of Kanjarkot and 7 miles from the border within Indian territory.
- 12 The note submitted by the Permanent Representative of India to the U. N. to the President, Security Council, on April 28, 1965, quoted by K. C. Saxena, *Pakistan*, 62.
- 13 The arbitration tribunal completed hearings on July 14, 1967, at Geneva. The tribunal went into recess, and would meet there again to consider its verdict, which would be decided by October 1967. The dispute was over 8400 square miles area as reported by Reuter from Geneva on July 15, 1967. All meetings were strictly private. The tribunal held 170 meetings and received about 15,000 pages of testimony from both sides.
- 14 *The Kashmir and Jammu Gazetteer*, 1909, on p. 97, puts the number of villages at 463.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 16 *Ladakh*, Publications Division.
- 17 This important bridge was named after Harka Bahadur who was responsible for the capture of a nearby hill feature in 1947-48 Kashmir War.
- 18 On May 19, 1965, a Pakistani battalion assaulted an Indian patrol south-west of Mendhar, in which about 40 Pakistanis were killed.
- 19 Our Government treats captured Pakistani soldiers with utmost care and kindness. "A Pakistani soldier captured in the Kargil sector, and at present lodged in a military quarterguard in Srinagar, is reported to have gained over ten pounds in weight in about a month."

(*The Sunday Tribune*, August 15, 1965, in an article entitled "Kargil was a lesson to Pakistanis")

- 20 Major Sushil Kumar Mathur was awarded Maha Vir Chakra "for acts of gallantry in the Kargil fighting." The Uttar Pradesh Government sanctioned for him a cash award of Rs. 7,500.
- 21 UNI, Leh, August 4, 1965.

CHAPTER FOUR

- 1 *The Tribune*, Ambala, October 30, 1965, p. 7, column 4.
- 2 PTI, New Delhi, October 14, 1965.
- 3 See Appendix 1.
- 4 Rawalkot served as the main base for Pakistan Army operations against Indian security forces in the bulge area.
- 5 *Dawn*, Karachi, May 18, 1965.
- 6 *Khyber Mail*, May 29, 1965.
- 7 *Pakistan's New Attempt to Grab Kashmir*, Publications Division, 14.
- 8 *Kashmir Answers Pakistan*, Publications Division, 15.
- 9 The documents mentioned in the text are in the possession of the Government of India. They were described in the newspapers of the time.
- 10 Malaysian External Affairs permanent secretary Ghazali bin Shafie declared at Singapore on October 28, 1965 that Pakistani guerrillas had been trained by China before they infiltrated across the ceasefire line in Kashmir describing themselves as 'freedom fighters'.
The Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan, Tan Ting Kuo-yu, flew to Rawalpindi from Karachi on August 12, 1965, for a meeting with Foreign Minister Bhutto for the second time within a week.
- 11 The Pakistan Army was not happy at the way these villagers fled without giving a guerrilla fight to the Indian Army. It bombarded these villages, particularly a village along the border in this sector-Charwa with about 1,000 houses-from air as well as by land artillery.
- 12 PTI, September 20, 1965 (inside Pakistan territory on Sialkot front); UNI, September 30, 1965, New Delhi; UNI, October 1, 1965, New Delhi.
- 13 Invasion means entering a country in a hostile manner with armed forces. Infiltration is a gradual process, unobserved concentration in a territory by detached parties. Infiltration creates an impression that the enemy aggression is an indigenous rebellion. The effect of both, invasion and infiltration, is the same.
- 14 This letter was shown to Indian and foreign correspondents at New Delhi on September 15, 1965. Its photostat copies were also distributed among them.

- 34 *Express News Service*, New Delhi, September 23, 1965.
- 35 PTI, Srinagar, September 25, 1965; *Harvest of Glory*, 9.
- 36 UNI, Srinagar, September 15, 1965.
- 37 (a) Gulmarg will be developed as a major winter sports centre. A master plan for this purpose was approved at a meeting of top officials, on July 23, 1967. The plan costing 1.67 crores provides for a tourists reception centre, bus stand, parking sets for cars, shopping centre, skating rink, ropeway and community centres. UNI, Srinagar, July 24, 1967.
(b) PTI, Jammu, August 14, 1965.
- 38 This bravery won him a special promotion to the post of Inspector.
- 39 Home Minister G. L. Nanda told the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive at New Delhi on August 14, 1965 that eight battalions of trained Pakistan Army personnel, roughly 3,200 men, had crossed into Indian territory in Kashmir. Each battalion consisted of about 400 men, 300 of whom were active personnel and the rest helpers.
- 40 On August 11, 1965, the security forces transported ten of the captured Pakistanis to New Delhi by air for interrogation. They included two officers of the Pakistan Army—Captain Ghulam Hussain and Captain Muhammad Sajjad.
- 41 The number of Gujars in Jammu and Kashmir is about three lakhs.
- 42 PTI, Srinagar, September 1, 1965.
- 43 *The Times of India*, September 8, 1965, under the title "Abject poverty in occupied Kashmir."
- 44 Reuter, Karachi, August 13, 1965.
- 45 PTI, Karachi, August 19, 1965.
- 46 *The Hindustan Times*, August 27, 1965, p. 9, column 8.
- 47 PTI, Jammu, December 17, 1965.
- 48 PTI, September 14, 1965. It is true that the civilized people should not behave in an uncivilized manner even under the gravest provocations. Yet at times the moralist also has to be stern and retributive in national interest. The infiltrators should have been shot dead at sight.

CHAPTER FIVE

- 7 UNI, Srinagar, August 29, 1965.
- 8 PTI, Srinagar, September 4, 1965
- 9 *Kashmir Answers Pakistan*. Publications Division, 4
- 10 Reuter, Karachi, August 11, 1965.
- 11 *The Times of India News Service*, published in TOI dated August 14, 1965, p. 7.
- 12 *The Times of India*, August 14, 1965.
- 13 Reuter, Karachi, August 13, 1965.
- 14 Ibid, Karachi, August 16, 1965.
- 15 PTI, Srinagar, October 22, 1965.

- 16 Sayyid Mir Hassan Shah, the head priest of Biara, five miles from the ceasefire line, told UNI on September 2, 1965, that the sabotage in the Kashmir Valley by Pakistani infiltrators had been planned by Sajawal Khan, an absconder in the Kashmir conspiracy case. He was in charge of Pakistani security in the area and was directing sabotage activity in the Valley. He had his headquarters in Mori Maidan, about 100 yards from Biara.

Recently, Sajawal Khan had arrested a local zaildar Sidha Ju and his son Ataullah on the pretext of their being "Indian agents." Sajawal Khan had become so ruthless that he could kill any person on the pretext of his being an Indian spy. Anyone who did not obey his dictates which included supplying of women and handing over to him the hard-earned money of the villagers fell under his wrath. He left Mori Maidan after the first infiltration. His accomplice and trustworthy agent was Ghulam Muhammad Mingrial.

- 17 PTI, Jammu, October 23, 1965
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Those managing observation posts also played an important role. Positioned at some remote hill or ridge, they helped to locate enemy targets and posts.
- 20 V. K. Krishna Menon told UNI at New Delhi on October 14, 1965 that these passes were "the real bases of Third World War"
- 21 In August, 1965 when Pakistani infiltrators attacked Jammu and Kashmir, six companies of the Uttar Pradesh Armed Constabulary were sent to help the Indian security forces and the Kashmir police. The Constabulary jawans delivered decisive blows every time they encountered the enemy. They had a number of pitched engagements with Pakistani forces and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. In the conflicts one platoon commander and five constables lost their lives

The first to lay down his life was constable Rudra Singh. He moved on with his section from Domari-gala post on 29 August to assist one section of the Sikh Regiment. While advancing from two sides, the jawans got scent of enemy movements in the area. There was an exchange of fire.

Constable Rudra Singh decided to attack the enemy from close quarters and moved from one cover to another under heavy enemy fire. He was hit by a bullet in the head and died on the spot.

On the night of 11-12 September the enemy in five companies strength encircled a Constabulary post on the Kashmir border from three sides. They delivered the attack with medium machineguns, light machineguns, mortars, rocket launchers, stenguns and rifles. The Constabulary Jawans returned the fire with great courage and determination. After some time the enemy was forced to abandon its attempt to capture the post and it retreated to a nullah in the rear. During the encounter constables Ganga Bahadur and Bibhuti Singh were killed.

Another encounter took place on 15 September. Some of the Constabulary Jawans were manning the most forward post at Ghaggar ridge. The enemy attacked it with mortars and medium machineguns. An enemy bomb shell hit Murlidhar Mauriya and Hari Singh and they died instantly. But the enemy was repulsed with the help of a unit of the regular army. (Express News Service, Lucknow, December 6, 1965.)

- 22 Indian troops captured this interesting and revealing document. See Appendix II.
- 23 The people of border villages vacated their homes, and fled towards Akhaur in the dark long before dawn. In the confusion two boys, Yashpal and Subhash Chandra, 14 and 11 years old respectively, were separated from their parents. Heavy balls were falling on all sides. The boys crept through bushes, and in darkness reached a police post on the border. They were given shelter in a bunker and were assured to be escorted to their parents.

The sepoy in control of the post were few and they had no water to drink. They would not like to come out in the open as in the case of their death, the post would remain undefended. Thereupon these brave boys offered their services to fetch water from a well two furlongs away.

On that day firing by the enemy continued uninterrupted for 12 hours. The boys undaunted took two small vessels and creeping, crawling and some time running while sitting had six rounds to the well and back, and brought water in sufficient quantity.

In the evening when firing ceased the boys were escorted to Akhaur and entrusted to their parents. This family was given shelter afterwards in a refugee camp at Manwal.

- 24 Patton tank is the main vehicular weapon produced by the United States after World War II, and had hitherto not been tested in battle. It was regarded as the decisive factor on the ground. It is cast in solid steel, and weighs 80 tons. It has 90 millimetre guns which outreach anything attacked by opponents. Their effective range is 2,500 yards and the maximum 10,000 yards. With an average speed of 30 miles an hour, it has better mobility than others. It was considered invincible except against bazookas fired at close range.
- 25 PTI, Jammu, October 25, 1965.

- 26 *Harvest of Glory*, 26, (Go I publication)
- 27 In a feature broadcast by All India Radio on September 29, 1965.
- 28 He displayed similar bravery and daring on several occasions later on, and won Vir Chakra and promotion as Lt. Colonel.
- 29 The Gnat is manufactured at the Bangalore division of the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited. It is a single-seater light weight jet fighter powered by the Bristol Siddeley Orpheus turbojet engine. The aircraft is fitted with two mm Aden cannon, one on each side of the fuselage, with over 100 rounds per gun. It has provision for underwing mounting of bombs, rocket projectiles, radio and navigational aids. India signed a licence agreement with the Folland Aircraft Company, U. K. in 1956 for the manufacture of the Gnat Jet fighter.
- 30 Thirty-year-old Trevor Keelor belongs to Lucknow. He studied at St. George's College, Mussoorie. He was a keen sportsman and excelled in boxing Trevor displayed tremendous courage and fighting quality. He invariably won boxing matches in the inter school boxing championship. He was commissioned in I.A.F. in 1954. In January 1965 he was awarded Vayu Sena Medal for displaying "courage, presence of mind and high standard of professional skill"
- 31 Trevor now received Vir Chakra. The UP Government gave him a prize of Rs. 3,000. People showed their gratitude to Trevor by presenting him various gifts. The Trichur Chamber of Commerce granted him a gold medal. Several firms and individuals sent fairly large sums of money. He received about 700 letters written by people from all walks of life. An elderly woman, a friend of Trevor's mother, who died ten years ago, reminded him, "I bathed you when you were four." A young girl wrote that she was madly in love with him. But Trevor is married. His wife Patricia and their two sons, Basil (8) and Poppy (5) are proud of him.

Trevor Keelor had shot down the first and his elder brother Squadron Leader Denzil Keelor brought down the last Pakistani jet fighter in an aerial battle over the Sialkot sector on September 19, 1965. Charles Keelor, 79-year-old father said that when he learnt of the victories scored by his sons, he recalled Rudyard Kipling's lines: "Lord God of hosts be with us yet, lest we forget, lest we forget"

The Air Chief, Air Marshal Arjan Singh, in a personal letter to Charles Keelor wrote: "you must have already heard over the radio about the wonderful feat your second son Denzil Keelor performed on September 19, in shooting down a Pakistani Air Force Sabre Jet over the Sialkot sector. This is the second enemy aircraft shot down by the Keelor brothers. The first and the very first Sabre, bagged by the Indian Air Force, was shot down by Trevor. It was a very daring feat and brought tremendous credit to the Air Force. The achievement attained by your sons will be a source of great inspiration to other pilots. I can only say that we are proud of the Keelor family and the Keelor boys"

- 32 In a feature broadcast by All-India Radio on September 29, 1965.

- 33 Napalm bombs are considered inhuman even in war time. These bombs were manufactured in the United States. Their shells bore this marking : "Property United States Air Force, United States Government Order No. N.Y. 128, Lot numbers 28 to 41." The markings showed the weight of the bomb as 750 lbs and the capacity of the shell as 110 gallons. The shell itself was light, weighing 70 lbs. The remaining 680 lbs was highly incendiary material which could melt metals, and at a range of 100 metres turned human beings into ashes.
- 34 According to Reuter, an official spokesman in Rawalpindi, admitted on September 4 that a Pakistani Sabre jet was brought down by Indian Air Force planes in the air battle over Chhamb sector. He stated that the pilot of the Pakistani plane baled out and was later picked up by a helicopter.
- 35 Virendra Singh Pathania comes from Nurpur in Kangra district. He was educated at Dharamsala, Pathankot, Hoshiarpur and Srinagar. He was commissioned in the I.A.F. in August 1956. He was awarded Vir Chakra by the President and a gold medal by the Trichur Chamber of Commerce. The Wazir Carpet Mills, Ludhiana, on 8 September, presented him a cheque of Rs. 1,100 in appreciation.

Nurpur is situated 37 miles west of Dharamsala on the road to Pathankot. Nurpur was formerly known as Dhameer but later it came to be called after the name of Nur-ud-din Jahangir. The principal inhabitants are Rajputs and Khatri. In the eighteenth century thousands of Kashmiris migrated to this town. By producing shawls of pashmina wool and other woollen goods they made this place famous.

CHAPTER SIX

- 1 UNI, Calcutta, September 4, 1965.
- 2 The Ichhogri canal should not be confused with the Ichhra canal which was in existence before partition, and which ran virtually through Lahore.
- 3 The roads and the canal having pillboxes are called by Pakistanis the Ayub Line, resembling the Maginot line in France built as a protection against Germany. But the Maginot line was different. It had vast underground chambers running to a depth of 400 feet complete with living quarters, store-houses and railway system. The Germans captured the Maginot Line from the rear. The Ayub Line is an ordinary replica of the French defence line.
- 4 Pakistan Radio announced that Lahore station would broadcast on some other fresh wave length, but Radio Lahore functioned from Karachi. The announcer, just by a mere slip of the tongue, said that he was speaking from Karachi. Only after the mistake had been made, did he amend himself by saying that he was speaking from Radio Lahore. (INFA, New Delhi, September 23, 1965.)
- 5 The Tribune, Amritsar, 29 October, 1965, under the title, "Half of Lahore fled in three days."

6 *The Hindustan Times*, September 11, 1965.

7 Colonel Hyde was awarded Maha Vir Chakra on September 6, 1965

8 From the banks of the canal Indian and Pakistani soldiers stared at each other coldly. Occasionally, there was bursting into sharp verbal exchanges. At times the calm was broken by gunfire.

On the western side of the Ichhogil canal at Dograi Pakistanis put up a high wooden curtain to hide their own activities. An Indian soldier brought a gramophone record from Amritsar and played it on a loudspeaker. It sang: "Aaj kyon ham se gardah hai." (Why have you put on a veil from us to-day?) At this the Pakistani troops would discharge a volley of bullets on the eastern bank, but the music went on undisturbed.

9 Major Tyagi belonged to village Kharkhauda in Modinagar area of Meerut district. He was educated at Meerut College. His body was brought to his home village and was cremated in the neighbouring village of Fatehpur with military honour, on September 26, 1965. The ashes were immersed in the Ganga at Garhmukteshwar on 29 September.

The school children in Sarojini Nagar, New Delhi, staged a short play based on the heroic deeds of Major Asaram Tyagi on October 20, 1965. Iqbal Chand, principal of a school in Defence Colony, was watching it. At the scene his heart overflowed with emotion and the spark of life immediately went out.

10 Ashes of the Indian *jawans* killed in this war and cremated in Amritsar sector were taken out in a procession on November 22, 1965, by the Fauji Sahaita Committee. The photographs of the *jawans* decorated with garlands were carried in a vehicle. A number of prominent citizens accompanied the procession which passed through the bazars. At several places people laid wreaths and showered flowers. The ashes were then taken to Haridwar.

11 Two *bastar* or bundles of papers tied in a piece of cloth were examined by a group of newsmen after the fall of Burma. Bundle No. 1 contained 41 names and Bundle No. 2 seventy-two names of notorious smugglers of this area.

12 Jahman is situated on the right bank of the small Wagah canal which divides India from West Pakistan, and is two miles away from Khaira town. In smugglers' parlance the channel is known as the "Ghuwandi barrier."

13 *The Tribune*, Ambala, October 6, 1965.

14 UNI, New Delhi, November 19, 1965.

15 The Pakistani missiles used in this sector bore NATO markings. These missiles were of the Holokow 810, Cobra type with a range of 1,600 metres and capable of piercing 500 mm armour. They were of West German manufacture.

16 Balam Ram was awarded Vir Chakra. Ram Kishan, Punjab Chief Minister,

gave him a cash prize of Rs. 500. Bilam Ram, it was stated, was a peon in the Public Relations Office, Chandigarh, three years previously.

- 17 Reuter reported from Rawalpindi on September 21, 1965, that a Pakistani Air Force spokesman told questioners on that day there that PAF bombers had used napalm bombs in attacks on Indian positions in various sectors during the past fortnight. This was the first official public confirmation that napalm bombs had been used by the Pakistan Air Force. On October 19, 1965, Reuter reported from Peshawar that Air Marshal Nur Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Air Force, told foreign correspondents at Air Headquarters there the previous night that his country had used napalm bombs against Indian targets in the recent hostilities.
- 18 A Pakistani soldier's body was noticed by an Indian officer lying in a trench in the morning and again in the afternoon. He shouted to his men to bury him. Thereupon the body sprang to its feet and begged the officer to spare his life and give him some food.

After this battle, a representative of the Urdu *Pratap* found a letter lying in a bunker on the banks of the canal. This letter could not be posted as its writer had been killed in the action. The letter was written by Chaudhri Akbar Ali Jat of village Thathi Kodha-Batapur in Lahore district to his wife Shamshad Begam. It stated: "Though I was married to you in April 1965, I have not seen your face yet. As you know, when the marriage party was returning home, I was seized on the way by two military officers and a few soldiers. I was sent towards Srinagar. On September 1, 1965 I was brought to Lahore and shut up in a pillbox here. I am forced to serve the Ayub Government. As soon as I am free I will come to you."

- 19 Across the Ichhogli canal at Burki the Pakistani milestone said: "Lahore, 14.2 bloody miles." (PTI, November 2, 1965.)
- 20 One of the villages of Burki is Kohri. It stands on the eastern bank of the Ichhogli canal. It has a good rest house. Outside the rest house a raised pucca platform provided with a hanging hand-pulling fan served as a sitting place in the open. There were a couple of decent houses of modern design, occupied by young pretty women. The 60-year-old watchman of the rest house, Karim Bikhsh, who lived in the bungalow was interviewed by a representative of the Urdu *Pratap*. He said that a number of civil and military officers sometimes with Englishmen and Chinese came from Lahore to the rest house to spend the week-end on the canal bank in the company of women. A room opposite the rest house just on the canal bank was especially used for this purpose of enjoyment. A large number of empty wine and coca-cola bottles, tumblers, cups and musical instruments such as harmonium, dholak, tablas and small bells (*ghungrus*) lay in disorder on the floor.

Milkmen from Amritsar started delivering milk in Burki, 18 miles distant. Some hawkers also accompanied milkmen to peddle their goods ranging from toy pattons to Indian textiles. (UNI, Amritsar, September 22, 1965.)

21 The other battles, all decisive were fought in 1526, 1556, and 1761.

22 PTI, New Delhi, October 14, 1965.

23 UNI, New Delhi, October 31, 1965.

24 The most commonly used small range rockets against tanks is the American bazooka. This is 22 inches long and 2.5 inches in diameter. It weighs only 34 pounds. It can be conveniently fired from a shoulder launcher 4.5 feet in length and can destroy a tank within 600 yards with its potent war-head weighing 1.8 pounds.

25 Abdul Hamid was born in Dhampur village in Saidpur tahsil of Ghazipur district in Uttar Pradesh on July 1, 1913. He joined the army on December 27, 1954. He was promoted to the rank of Lance Naik in March 1962. He was created Havildar, on October 1, 1963, and was appointed Company Quarter Master Havildar in June 1965. Winner of the Salaya Seva Medal with Jamana and Kashmir clasp, Abdul Hamid served in that State from 1957 to 1960. He saw active service during the NEFA operations against the Chinese. He is survived by his wife Rasulan, four sons and the aged father.

The U. P. Government sanctioned a cash reward of Rs. 10,000 and a piece of land. The village was renamed Hamid Dham. The family would receive an annual pension of Rs. 500 for thirty years. The Kashmir Government granted Rs. 5,000. The entire expenditure on the education of Abdul Hamid's children will be borne by the Sherwan Charitable Trust. The Dholewal Chank in Ludhiana was renamed Abdul Hamid Chank and a sum of Rs. 50,000 was sanctioned for its development.

The grave of the valiant fighter lies 1.5 furlongs beyond the village of Chima Khurd 35 miles away from Amritsar on the Amritsar-Khem Karan road.

26 His Brigadier gave him a reward of Rs. 100 and the Panjab Chief Minister Rs. 500. (*The Tribune*, Ambala, September 28, 1965.)⁶

27 Panjab Chief Minister granted to Jagdish Singh's family Rs. 2,500 and Bhanwar Singh Rs. 2,000.

28 The main reason for this surrender was that food supplies had not reached Pakistani soldiers for three days. When the Pakistanis surrendered, their officers requested our military officials to give them food as they had been starving. (*Express News Service*, Ludhiana, October 18, 1965.)

29 As the Indian troops advanced to pick up the body of the Major General, four Pakistani tanks dashed towards his tank, surrounded it, and carried away the body. The tank with the Major General's cap which showed his rank fell to our share.

The Brigadier was buried according to military rites. His body was exhumed and handed over to Pakistani authorities under the Tashkent Agreement.

30 They included the Lieutenant Colonel Mohammed Nasir, officer commanding 4th Cavalry, Major Mohammed Anwar Khan, officer

commanding B Squadron, Major Mohammed Ayub Khan, officer commanding A squadron, and Captain Abdul Aziz of the 4th Cavalry.

- 31 Panjab Minister for Irrigation and Electricity disclosed at Malakpur, a village in Sonapat area, on October 10, 1965, that recently four American generals had gone to visit the war front to find out the causes of the destruction of Patton tanks. One of them at the sight of the destroyed Patton tanks burst into tears and sobbed bitterly.
- 32 William Red Keeler a war correspondent of the U. S. weekly, *Time*, visited Kasur after this battle. He reported that the entire town with a population of one lakh lay deserted. Almost all the houses were in ruins. The whole area was littered with rotting bodies of men and animals. Vultures were flying over demolished houses, while dogs were feeding on carcasses. Huge swarms of flies came up in the air when they were disturbed either by vultures or dogs. About 1,200 human bodies were estimated to lie buried under debris. Kasur—Khem Karan area was the scene of some of the bloodiest battles of this war.
- 33 In a feature broadcast by all India Radio on September 29, 1965.

CHAPTER SEVEN

- 1 Dera Baba Nanak is situated on the left bank of Ravi, 27 miles from Amritsar on the old Jammu-Amritsar road. It is said that Guru Nanak, the first of the ten Sikh Gurus had married one Sulakhani, the daughter of Mula Khatri of this place and spent a part of his retired life here. In commemoration of Guru Nanak, the Wazir to the Nizam of Hyderabad, Raja Chandu Lal and Maharaja Ranjit Singh successively contributed to erect here a shrine which was completed in 1827. Later Rani Chand Kaur got a portion of the shrine gold-plated. There are numerous curiosities of Sikh religion stored up at this place. They are displayed at a fair every year in March. In 1838 this place was held in *jagir* by the descendants of Guru Nanak. [National Archives of India, *Foreign Department, Political Consultations*, No. 44, dated May 9, 1838.]
- 2 Shahamat Ali, one of the first batch of Delhi students to learn English, and later taken in British political service, visited Sialkot on October 22, 1837. In a letter addressed to Captain C.M. Wade Political Agent dated at "Baba Nanak ka Dera" on 27 October 1837 wrote about Sialkot: "This place is celebrated for the manufacture of fine native paper which is generally used throughout the whole of the Panjab. There are about 200 shops of paper makers here from which is collected about 1,400 rupees annually as government duties at the rate of two annas per quire. The principal substance of which paper is made here are flax and potash. The former is consumed yearly about 60 maunds, and the latter 25 maunds, at three annas per maund are levied as duty from each of these articles." [National Archives of India, *Foreign Department, Political Consultations*, dated May 9, 1838, No. 47.]

- 3 Air observation for artillery engagements was resorted to extensively by both sides. It involved hazardous flying by officers. They pinpointed

"On our side, there are big guns, little guns and machine guns—all of them silent and all of them demanding to be heard. There is order in the ranks compared to chaos on the enemy side.

"And how words can describe the deathless bravery of the Indian forces? How can words describe the daring pilots risking their lives to give the best support to the ground forces? What magnificent team work!

"It is history in the making. It is a befitting reply to an enemy which has provoked India to hit back.

"Every *jawan*, every officer—like beads of the same string—is in fine fettle to crush the half-fed, half-clothed and half-spirited enemy."

8 PTI, New Delhi, October 1, 1965.

9 Bhupinder Singh sustained injuries and severe burns, and died in a military hospital at Delhi on October 3, 1965. He was awarded Maha Vir Chakra. The new Bharatnagar Chauk at Ludhiana was renamed Major Bhupinder Singh Chauk.

10 It was Jassoran.

11 War correspondents, news reporters and some public men were given an opportunity to have a glimpse of the life of officers and *jawans* in forward areas.

The main thing which kept the *jawans* in top form was the knowledge that they were winning and the feeling of comradeship with other *jawans*. Out on the front they lived with a smouldering anger against the enemy. The news of Indian advances and capture of Pakistani tanks and military equipment kept them in high spirits.

Going out to meet the *jawans* on the front was not without its hazards. The visitors were taken in jeeps which moved very fast on the roads. According to an officer moving slow during a war was to invite trouble. The roads wound through fields and past half-deserted villages. While going to Sialkot sector the jeep had to wade through a stream about 12 miles from Jammu. The *jawans* standing near it cheered as the wheels churned and splashed water.

Pakistani air raids were a normal feature in that area. On hearing the sound of firing by ack-ack guns a party of newsmen had to leave the jeep and lie flat by the roadside at a distance from the jeep. Without the anti-aircraft gun firing, it was impossible to hear the low whine of the enemy jet in the midst of the loud roaring of the jeep. A Pakistani jet made for the jeep. The jet circled very low and the belly of the plane shone menacingly overhead. Then the ack-ack shots started getting close to the enemy jet. The plane left off the victim and flew away. The party moved on pressing down the accelerator hard.

On reaching the headquarters of the unit there was another air raid. As the warning whistle blew, the Army officers pushed the visitors down

article in *The Tribune*, Ambala, dated October 8, 1965, under the caption, "I baled out in enemy territory."

- 6 *Express News Service*, September 20, 1965.
- 7 PTI, New Delhi, November 5, 1965.
- 8 *Ibid*, September 23, 1965.
- 9 *Ibid*, New Delhi, November 6, 1965.
- 10 *Ibid*, September 26, 1965.
- 11 *The Times of India*, November 26, 1965. Al-Hasan was released on October 20, 1966.
- 12 Major General Joginder Singh, Chief of Staff with Lieutenant General Harbaksh Singh, was born on October 2, 1911 in the village of Malipur, sub-tahsil Payal, Patiala State, now in district Ludhiana. He joined the Indian Army in 1931 and was commissioned on July 15, 1938.
- 13 The State Governor's address to a joint session of the Panjab Legislature on February 14, 1966 at Chandigarh.
- 14 NAFEN, Bombay, September 26, 1965.
- 15 PTI, Sangrur, October 27, 1965.

PART II

HOME FRONT

CHAPTER TEN

- 1 Amongst the most popular figures are Dilip Kumar, Meena Kumari, Muhammad Rafi, Naushad, Nazim Khan, Rahman, Anwar Hussain, Nazim Hussain, Johnny Walker, Agha, Ajit, Mahmud, Nargis, Surayya, Nimmi, Wahida Rahman, Saida Khan, Nasir Hussain, Abrar Ulvi, M. Yusuf, Khwajah Ahmad Abbas, Kamal Amrohi, Ah Siapuri, Shakil Badayuni, Majruh Sultanpuri, Sahir Ludhianwi, Raja Mahdi Ali Khan, Khumar Barabankwi, Ali Akbar Khan, Ghulam Muhammad, Khyam, Iqbal Qureshi, Talat Mahmud, Shamsad Begam, Mubarak Begam and so on.
- 2 PTI, Lucknow, August 28, 1965.
- 3 *The Times of India News Service*, Calcutta, September 4, 1965.
- 4 *Ibid*.
- 5 A Hindu of Ranchi who chose to remain anonymous conveyed on 9 September to K. B. Sahay, Chief Minister of Bihar, the offer to meet the entire cost of repairing this mosque.
- 6 *The Times of India News Service*, Calcutta, September 4, 1965.
- 7 *The Indian Express*, September 9, 1965, p. 4.
- 8 PTI, Panaji, September 11, 1965; PTI, Calcutta, September 12, 1965.

- 9 On September 10, 1965, all West Pakistan dailies named the People's Republic of China, Iran, Turkey and Indonesia as 'Friends of Pakistan,' who had pledged firm support to Pakistan in its conflict with India. The Karachi daily *Dawn* carried pictures of Chinese Premier, the Shah of Iran and President Sukarno with one of President Ayub Khan topping a five-column head line, 'Friends Pledge Firm Support.'
 - 10 PTI, New Delhi, September 20, 1965.
 - 11 PTI, Lucknow, September 23, 1965.
 - 12 PTI, Bhopal, November 29, 1965.
 - 13 On 18 October special trains of soldiers were passing through Aligarh. The Aligarh Muslim University arranged an entertainment for the *jawans* at the railway station. Over 2,000 students and members of the University staff led by the Nawab of Chhatar, Pro-Chancellor of the University and Vice-Chancellor Nawab Ali Yavar Jung and his wife both wearing "Sainik Seva" badges presented apples to the *jawans* while others served tea and snacks.
 - 14 *The Times of India News Service*, Calcutta, September 4, 1965.
 - 15 Ibid.
 - 16 Ibid and PTI of the same date.
 - 17 The leaders included Naveeruddin Osman and Maulana Hafiz Abu Yusuf, President and Vice-President of the Andhra Pradesh Jamait-ul-ulama, Maulana Abdus-Subhan, Jamait leader, Rahmat Ali, Deputy Mayor, three Municipal Councillors, and the Presidents of the Shia Conference, Momtin Conference, Jamait Qurais'h and Anjuman-e-Mehdavian.
 - 18 Prominent among those who addressed the meeting were Maulana Asad Madani, Jamilur Rehman Kidwai and Abdu Sami.
 - 19 The meeting was presided over by Maulana Abdul Karim, President of the Jabalpur Congress Mandal Ramzan Papa, General Secretary, Jamait-ul-ulama, also addressed the meeting.
 - 20 PTI, Dogadda (U. P.), September 8, 1965.
 - 21 *The Times of India News Service*, Fatehgarh, September 11, 1965.
 - 22 PTI, Trivandrum, September 10, 1965.
 - 23 *The Times of India News Service*, Rewa, September 11, 1965.
 - 24 PTI, New Delhi, September 13, 1965.
- The signatories included Mufti Atiq-ur-Rehman and Maulana Masud Ahmad Siddiqi, working President and Secretary of the Jamait-ul-ulama, A. A. Barakati, Principal, Calcutta Madrasa, and Maulana Syed Anisul Hasan, Secretary, All-India Secrat Council.
- 25 *The Times of India News Service*, Lucknow, September 17, 1965.
 - 26 PTI, New Delhi, September 25, 1965.
 - 27 *Express News Service*, Bombay, September 29, 1965.

- 28 *The Hindustan Times*, September 2, 1965.
- 29 *Daily Qaimi Awaz*, Lucknow, September 15, 1965.
- 30 *The Times of India News Service*, September 17, 1965.
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 FOC, Simla, UNI, August 14, 1965.
- 33 UNI, New Delhi, August 14, 1965.
- 34 PTI, Calicut, September 11, 1965.
- 35 PTI, Gorakhpur, October 25, 1965.
- 36 PTI, Patna, October 29, 1965.
- 37 PTI, Calcutta, November 7, 1965.
- 38 PTI, Hyderabad, August 14, 1965.
- 39 Vide *Indian Muslims Speak*, Publications Division, pp 24-27. On September 19, 1965, Bhuvan Sinha wrote from Calcutta : "There is an automobile engineering workshop in Karsya Road owned by a Muslim. The majority of the workers are Muslims. On the Vishwakarma Puja day I was overwhelmed to see a huge image of the deity, a pundit chanting mantras and all the workers, irrespective of religion, watching the ceremony and accepting prasad. All of them looked like members of the same family which they indeed are."
- 40 PTI, New Delhi, September 9, 1965
- 41 *Ibid.*, September 27, 1965.
- 42 The signatories were Mrs Violet Alva, Joachim Alva, Peter Alvares, Josh Mathen, A. G. Gilbert, M. Ruthnawamy, Mrs Jahnuara Jaipal Singh, B. C. Jamir, D. Ering, Mithew Manivangadan, T. Manan, David Munzi and Miss Mary Naidu.
- 43 PTI, Dugadda (U. P.), September 8, 1965.
- 44 PTI, Calicut, September 12, 1965.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

- 1 On September 19, 1965, an exhibition "Meet the Challenge" was organized by the Defence Ministry and the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity in New Delhi at the grounds of Life Insurance Corporation. The exhibition presented through life-size photographs the story of Kashmir, the disguised invasion by Pakistani infiltrators and the subsequent open aggression across the international border. The exhibition also displayed photographs showing how the brave people of Kashmir rose against the enemy and forestalled his nefarious designs. The arms and ammunition seized by the Indian troops were the biggest draw at the exhibition. The exhibition recalled the great deeds of valour performed by our armed forces. The heaps of arms and ammunition gave tell-tale evidence of the

disarray into which the Pakistan Army was thrown as our Army and Air Force counterattacked in several sectors at the Lahore and Sialkot fronts. It also offered a tribute to the common people in towns and villages, in factories and on farms, who rose solidly in support of our soldiers. Above all, it highlighted how for the second time in 18 years, the Kashmiris gave a cold rebuff to religious fanatics from Pakistan. Over 1,50,000 people visited the exhibition in the first two days. The number went on increasing daily.

- 2 Major General S N. Bhatia, General Officer Commanding, Panjab and Himachal Pradesh Area, sent letters of appreciation to the Sarponches of these villages, saying: "I am highly appreciative of this most humane task performed by the people of your two villages."
- 3 PTI, November 4, 1963.
- 4 Another homely touch was added to the soldiers' life in trenches. The witty transporters of Patiala on October 10, 1963 provided two buses for carrying Jawans' wives to see the forward area and have a chat with them. The expenses of this ride amounting to about Rs. 2,500 were borne by the transporters.
- 5 *The Hindustan Times*, September 13, 1963.
- 6 *The Indian Express*, November 21, 1963.
- 7 The Army Medical Corps was located nearly three miles behind the firing line. It was the lifeline of many a wounded *Jawan* more often than the supply lifeline. In many cases it was the question of life and death within a few minutes or a couple of hours if the patients were not treated with speed and thoroughness. The tasks facing the doctors on the field were generally treatment of shocks, burns, bleeding and broken limbs. They were also equipped to perform surgical operations to treat multiple injuries. The immediate task was to save the patient from death. For this all possible steps were taken after first aid to evacuate him as quickly as possible to the nearest civil or military hospital where further attention could be given.

A small branch of the Army Medical Corps was attached to every unit. Two stretcher-bearers accompanied every section, usually ten men in any action. Their main task was to remove casualties as quickly as possible to first aid centre situated about 300 yards away. This post was called casualty clearance station. It served the purpose of an improvised hospital-cum-dispensary in a bunker or a Red Cross van. This post was also equipped for blood, saline and glucose transfusions. This could be continued while the patient was being transferred to the base medical unit about 5,000 yards away. Great care was taken to transfer the patient to the base unit in the quickest possible time. If there was no enemy shelling or bombardment the patient was taken to the unit within half an hour.

- 8 Jammu is situated at a height of 1,200 feet, 60 miles from Pathankot and 27 miles from Sialkot of West Pakistan. It stands on a ridge on the right or western bank of a small river, Tawi, which rises in the hills of the outer Himalayas, 40 miles to the north of the city. It passes through Jammu and falls into the Chenab about 20 miles to the south-west. Jammu is an ancient

town. Its name occurs in the two copper plates of Chamba of eleventh century. Four States—Jammu, Samba, Mankot and Jasrotā were ruled by branches of one common stock. Maharaja Ranjit Singh expelled the senior branch of the Jammu family in 1816, and conferred this State in *jagir* on Gulab Singh, representative of the junior branch. Gulab Singh built the fort of Bala on the eastern side of Tawi. "Gulab Singh's palace is a pretty white edifice built like the whole of Jammu, about 150 feet above the river Tohi (Tawi), which flows with rapidity", wrote Hugel in the thirties of the last century. [*Travels*, I, 69.] He estimated its population at 8,000. At the beginning of the current century, Jammu was called "the city of temples," [Ross, *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, 14th—43; Hugel, I, 143, 183; Thornton, II, 636—7; *Chamba State Gazetteer* (1904), p. 69; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1907), pp. 401—6; *Kashmir and Jammu Gazetteer* (1909), p. 114; *Imperial Gazetteer Kashmir and Jammu*, 26; *Everyman's Encyclopaedia*, 703.]

- 9 *Express News Service*, Jammu, September 13, 1965.
- 10 *Air Mail*, August 21, 1965, p. 1, col. 1.
- 11 The Gujarat Government afterwards raised a marine defence force on the lines of home guards and a village defence organisation to protect the long coastline. [Chief Minister Kirtendra Desai's broadcast on September 24, 1965.]
- 12 *PTI*, Bombay, October 28, 1965.
- 13 *Express News Service*, New Delhi, September 28, 1965; *PTI*, New Delhi, September 29, 1965.
- 14 *Valour on Wheels*, a Dunlop publication, 6.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 18—19.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 19.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 16—17.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 19 The Panjab Government made an ex-gratia grant of Rs. 5,000 to the families of those drivers and conductors or cleaners of civilian trucks and buses who had been killed while working with the defence forces during the fighting with Pakistan. This grant was in addition to the compensation paid by the Government of India.
- 20 In recognition of his services, the manager of his transport company, presented him Rs. 750.
- 21 *Valour on Wheels*, 20—21.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 10.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 *Ibid.*, cover. Besides the truck hire rates, the driver and conductor were also paid Rs. 10 daily for each truck by the military authorities without any delay.

- 25 PTI, New Delhi, September 23, 1965.
- 26 UNI, Ahmedabad, October 25, 1965
- 27 PTI, Bangalore, October 29, 1965.
- 28 PTI, London, September 21, 1965.
- 29(a) Ibid.
- 29(b) UNI, Jullundur, September 14, 1965.
- 30 UNI, Jammu, October 25, 1965.
- 31 PTI, Jullundur November 22, 1965.

CHAPTER TWELVE

- 1 *The Hindustan Times*, September 12, 1965. Vide Appendix I.
- 2 The most distressing was the fact that Pakistan's bombing of civilian targets did not attract any international criticism. Foreign correspondents who were stationed in this country by and large kept quiet over Pakistan's indiscriminate bombing.
- 3 PTI, New Delhi September 9, 1965.
- 4 PTI, Amritsar, September 17, 1965
- 5 The first foundation stone of St. Paul's Church was laid on December 14, 1844, one year after the formation of the cantonment at Ambala. Bishop D. Wilson of Calcutta laid the stone on a site near Cavalry Lines. The place being too low was abandoned. The foundation stone at the present site comprising 25 acres was laid on January 14, 1852. Archdeacon Pratt of Calcutta travelled a distance of about 1,000 miles by boat and buggy, there being no railway trains and cars in those days. Captain Aitkinson of the Bengal Engineers designed and supervised the construction of this Church. It took five years to be completed, and cost Rs. 75,000 (now worth over 50 lakhs).

The Church was consecrated on January 4, 1857, by Bishop Dealtry of Madras who said: "This church is one of the most beautiful and complete churches in India and I hope that some day it will become a cathedral." A prayer book and a copy of the Bible presented by Bishop Dealtry on the occasion, as also a Chalice given by the first congregation were still in use in it. Church ornaments were added by people from time to time. Rev. Walter John Whiting was appointed its first Chaplain. In all eighty Chaplains served this church till 1955. During the uprising of 1857, the families of British troops stationed at Ambala were sheltered in the compound walls. As the families stayed here for six months, the church came to be called "Fort St. Paul." To begin with the church was under the Diocese of Calcutta. In 1878 the Diocese of Lahore was formed, and this church was affiliated to it. After the partition of Punjab, it passed under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Amritsar. The century-old dream of Bishop Dealtry was fulfilled on April 14, 1953, when the church was raised to the status of a Cathedral.

- 6 The Rev. Fr. Ernest John, Vicar of the Cathedral Church of Redemption, New Delhi, consecrated as the Bishop of Nandyal, Andhra Pradesh on October 22, 1967, characterized the Pakistani bombing of civilian areas and places of worship as an "indiscriminate, inhuman, dastardly and barbaric act." The Vicar appealed in the name of Christianity to all the heads and leaders of churches throughout the world and the Vatican Council to condemn the "vandalism and inhuman behaviour" on the part of Pakistan.
- 7 The Government of Rajasthan granted Rs. 1,000 each to the families of the compounder and the warrior, and to those of the sick prisoners killed Rs. 500 each.
- 8 The Samba State had its capital at the town of Samba, about 20 miles east of Jammu and 40 miles from Pathankot. Originally Samba was in possession of a local Rajput tribe, Ghotar. During Ranjit Dev's reign (1735-1781), Samba formed a part of the Jammu State. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the celebrated Mughlani Begum, ex-Governor of Lahore, and originally married in the family of the Nizam of Hyderabad, settled here as a widow, and took one of her eunuchs as a husband. Ranjit Dev treated her kindly and granted an honorarium to meet her expenses. Samba was given in jagir in 1822 to Suchet Singh, the youngest brother of Gulab Singh. Here he built a palace for himself half a mile away from the town. [Hugel's *Travels*, i. 67; Hutchison and Vogel's *History of the Panjab Hill States*, ii. 574-75; De Bourbel, 77]
- 9 UNI, Amritsar, September 13, 1965
- 10 Not to speak of wounded men even injured animals were not ignored by the people of Amritsar. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals treated a large number of wounded animals in the border villages of Mahal, Preetnagar, Kakkar, Ranjan, and Lepokl. The carcasses of animals were buried.
- 11 More Pakistani planes were shot down by ground fire than in dog-fights in the air by IAF fighter planes. This was especially creditable in view of the fact that a large part of the Indian anti-aircraft artillery was of World War II. They were manually controlled, neither designed for use against fast jets, nor of the radar-operated bombers. Hence they could not lock on to their aerial targets and fire away automatically.
- 12 On September 23, 1965, the Prime Minister sent a sum of Rs. 25 lakhs from the National Relief Fund for the rehabilitation of the victims of the previous day's air raids. The Panjab Government had already paid Rs. 1,000 to each of the families of those killed and Rs. 500 to those injured.

- 21 Ram Prakash constable of Chabeval village was killed in an action against these paratroopers near Matiana, 12 miles from Hoshiarpur.
- 22 The equipment, arms and ammunition, all manufactured in the United States, collected from the paratroopers were on show at Jullundur on September 12. The display included brenguns, machineguns, Browning automatic guns, guns fitted with telescopic lenses, high explosive detonators, bombs, hand-grenades, steel helmets, cartridges, parachutes, produced by Irving Air Chute Company Incorporated manufactured in 1963 and 1964, and other things of daily use such as bedroom slippers, tins of talcum powder, shaving articles and boot polish.
- 23 The Department of Education made an ad hoc grant of Rs. 5,000 each, and guaranteed free education to their children to the highest standards.
- 24 PTI, Patiala, September 12, 1965.
- 25 Ibid, Ambala, September 13, 1965.
- 26 Radio Pakistan falsely announced that Pakistani bombers had reduced Chandni Chauk and 'Connaught Place' into 'shambles', while Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana and Ambala lay in ruins.
- 27 PTI, UNI, Srinagar, October 12, 1966.
- 28 *The Tribune*, Ambala, February 27, 1966.
- 29 PTI, Srinagar, July 28, 1966.
- 30 *The Tribune*, Ambala, October 7, 1965.
- 31 *The Times of India News Service*, Chandigarh, September 29, 1965.
- 32 Now the train service between Amritsar and J Khem Karan terminates at Valtoha.
- 33 PTI, Fazlika, October 24, 1965.
- 34 *The Times of India*, New Delhi, February 26, 1966.
- 35 Quoted by UNI dated August 29, 1965, in *The Hindustan Times*, August 30, 1965.
- 36 Reported by A. K. Roy, India's Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca.
- 37 PTI, New Delhi, August 23, 1965. A news item published in *The Hindustan Times* of October 25, 1967 on p. 1, cols. 1-3 said that India-Pakistan survey teams would begin ground demarcation between Tripura and sylhet on November 5, 1967. The boundary extends over 70 miles. Of the total length of 550 miles of Tripura border, 184 miles have been demarcated. Difficulty lies over the demarcation line on the southern tip of Tripura. In this area Pakistan claims the eastern branch of the Fenny river, while India claims its western branch. There is also a difference of opinion over the township of Belonia because of the changing 'course' of the Muburi river.

In the West Bengal sector of the Indo-Pakistan boundary over 1,200 miles have been 'demarcated'. The dispute over the Cooch Behar enclaves and parts of the hilly districts continues.

In the Assam sector field work has yet to begin on the Mizo hills area. An agreement is yet to be arrived at over the Lathitilla—Dumabari enclaves.

- 38 Pakistan co-operated in the demarcation of only 26 miles of Assam—East Pakistan border. There are about 195 miles yet to be demarcated. This includes 190 miles of border between the Mizo hills and East Pakistan. The officials of the two countries were unable to reach an agreement over the demarcation of about five miles claimed by both sides. This area witnessed frequent firing.
- 39 UNI, New Delhi, November 3, 1966.
- 40 PTI, New Delhi, April 3, 1967.
- 41 Ibid, April 6, 1967.
- 42 *The Times of India News Service*, New Delhi, October 26, 1965.
- 43 AP, Reuter, Karachi, September 21, 1965.
- 44 Statement made in Rajya Sabha on November 17, 1965, by B. R. Bhagat, Minister of State for Finance. [PTI, UNI, New Delhi, November 17, 1965.
- 45 A Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman said on July 26, 1967, that 102 Indian internees of 1965 war were awaiting repatriation from Pakistan to India. [AP, Rawalpindi, July 27, 1967.]
- 46 UNI, New Delhi, December 4, 1965.
- 47 T. R. Roy of the Press Trust of India was in Dacca. His report did not come to the notice of the author.

Exact Copy

The following is the text of "top secret" instructions issued by Major-General Akhtar Hussain Malik of the Pakistan Army to Brigadier Fazle Rahim for infiltration operations in Kashmir.

TOPSEC

Copy No. 1
HQ 12 Div
GO877
29 Aug 65

OP INSTR NO. 1/1965

To :—Brig FAZLE RAHIM MC Comd KHILJI Force

1. Sit

a. En Forces

The IND of late have assumed offensive capability in I and 2 Sector areas. These addl IND tps appear to have been drawn from one inf bde which presumably moved from LEH and the res possibly from the inf bde presumably reported at KERAN. The addl units in your sector may be from LEH Bde. Conversely the en may have thinned out on the FDLs to form these task forces.

b. Friendly Forces

(1) The loss of fwd DANNA Rear DANNA and Pt 7802 (7640) posns have seriously threatened our L of C to NORTH. I visualize all his further efforts will be dir towards cutting off the L of C to deny us maint of tps loc in KEL sector, sup of Nusrat gpts in that area and to stop further infiltration of tps from that dir. It is therefore vital that further penetration by the en in the PIRSAHABA area is stopped. I also visualize that IND will make desperate efforts to exploit their success by expanding their area of penetration towards ZIARAT 1/L789380 feature. The loss of DANNA feature has greatly increased the importance of ZIARAT which must be denied to the en.

- (2) The present str of own tps, ie. 5 PUNJAB and remnants 16 AK is inadequate to stop en penetration. I have therefore already reinforced 1 Sector with 1 PUNJAB which will be used to supplement 5 PUNJAB and the remnants of 16 AK in stopping further penetration of the IND towards own L of C. I have also boosted up arty resources in the area by moving tp 120 mm mors from URI sector.
- (3) The terrain in the area of op does not lend itself to set piece attk nor is it my policy even if the terrain had been favourable. Any attempt to dislodge the en frontally will be very costly in cas and eqpt. I visualize that IND will be forced to pull out if a sizeable threat is posed in their rear. It is in this role that I want to use you. The responsibility for 1 Sector area will be taken over by Brig AAK NIAZI with immediate effect with the fol tps under comd :—

1 PUNJAB
 5 PUNJAB
 8 AK
 9 AK
 13 AK
 16 AK
 101 Comp Bty
 89 Mor Bty
 Comp Regt Arty

TOPSEC

... 2

TOPSEC

—2—

2. Msn

You will infiltrate across CFL to op behind en disposn in TANGDHAR-TITWAL area and cause max attrition of en potential.

3. Exec

a. Grouping KHILJI Force

2 AK

23 AK

Three gps SSG

Three Nusrat Gps

Wing HQ and three coys Khyber rifles.

b. Task.

Infiltrate across CFL from gen area NILAM Valley :—

(1) Exert max pressure on the en area TANGDHAR-TITWAL from the North, South and East.

(2) Disrupt L of C PANZGAM-TANGDHAR.

(3) Keep open own re-supply route.

c. Comd Brig FAZLE RAHIM, MC

d. Method of Op.

I want you to op in suitable size gps and release pressure in the areas occupied by him on own side of CFL. Also dominate rd PANZGAM-TANGDHAR to stop flow of rfts and sups. Set up your HQ at a suitable place from where you can effectively con your ops. I want you to note that you will not undertake set piece attk and tie down own tps unnecc thereby suffering cas. The pattern must be to conc at a preselected tgt at a fixed time, carry out raids, inflict max cas, cause max damage and disperse in different dirs. The size of force to conc for a raid must be compatible with the size of tgt to be raided. Finally the principle to follow is not to att importance to ground features but aim at shock actions and creating max possible pressure in the area through concerted and continuous offensive action against his def. HQ and L of C.

e. FOO's Two FOO's will be taken by you for dir own arty fire when within range.

f. Dress. Tps may op in uniform.

g. Wpus. Bn's will carry 3 in and 2 in mors.

h. Sup. Limited number of mules may be taken for carrying ammo/rats and for purposes of re-supply.

j. Comm.

(a) Bns will carry their rear link sets for comm with you.

(b) Force HQ will estb wris comm with 1 Sector who will act as con.

- k. D Day. Work out your plan and let me know your C Day and D Day.

TOPSEC

... 3

TOPSEC

—3—

4. Adm and Log

- a. Funds. Nec currency has been arranged for you. You may put in your bid for addl funds.
- b. Rats/Ammo. You will go self sufficient to operate for at least two weeks.
- c. Resupply. 1 Sector will be responsible for resupply up to home base KHILJI FORCE which will be intimated to 1 Sector and 12 Div.
- d. Med.
 - (1) Serious cas will be evac own side of CFL.
 - (2) 1 Sector will provide adequate med cover at suitable site on own side of CFL near home base KHILJI FORCE.

ACK.

Maj Gen

Comd

(AKHTAR HUSSAIN MALIK)

Jaffrey/—

Copy No. 2 To Brig AAK NIAZI, Sk. MC Comd 1 Sector for spec ref to para 3P, 4c and 4d.

TOPSEC

SECRET

CODE NAMES

Unit

5 PUNJAB

2 AK Inf Bn

Code Names

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